REPORT RESUMES

ED 016 257 CG 001 337

CONCEPTIONS OF WORK, PLAY, COMPETENCE, AND OCCUPATION IN JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. FINAL REPORT.

BY- SMITH, ROBERT PROSHANSKY, HAROLD
MICHIGAN UNIV., ANN ARBOR, INST.FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
REPORT NUMBER CRP-1866 PUB DATE SEP 67
REPORT NUMBER BR-5-0079
CONTRACT OEC-3-10-28
EDRS PRICE MF-$1.50 HC-$14.16 352P.

DESCRIPTORS- *ADOLESCENTS, *CONCEPT FORMATION, *WORK ATTITUDES, SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND, INTELLIGENCE, SEX DIFFERENCES, RACE INFLUENCES, QUESTIONNAIRES, RESEARCH PROJECTS, *FACTOR ANALYSIS,

ATTITUDES AND COGNITIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE ABOUT THE NATURE OF WORK WERE STUDIED TO DISCOVER THE INFLUENCE OF SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, RACE, AND INTELLIGENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORK ORIENTATION. THE SAMPLE CONSISTED OF 1,254 TEENAGERS FROM 13 PUBLIC SCHOOLS. OPEN ENDED QUESTIONNAIRES, RATING SCALES, HIGH SCHOOL RECORDS, AND TEAHCER RATINGS PROVIDED STUDY DATA. TO GET A COMPARATIVE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF STATUS CONGRUENCE, THE POPULATION OF TEENAGERS WAS DIVIDED INTO SUBPOPULATIONS OF--(1) HIGH CONGRUENT STATUS-MIDDLE CLASS, HIGH IQ, WHITE, (2) LOW CONGRUENT STATUS-LOWER CLASS, LOW IQ, NEGRO, (3) HIGH INCONGRUENT STATUS, AND (4) LOW INCONGRUENT STATUS. RECOMMENDATIONS ARE MADE ABOUT THE MODIFICATION OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS, SCHOOL-PARENT AND TEACHER-STUDENT COMMUNICATION, AND THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES. SCHOOLS MUST ADAPT AND DIFFERENTIATE PROGRAMS OF EXPERIENCES FOR BOYS AS COMPARED TO GIRLS. THE ROLES OF TEACHERS, COUNSELORS, ADMINISTRATORS, PARENTS, AND THE COMMUNITY ARE DISCUSSED. THE DISCUSSION OF RESULTS IS ORGANIZED AS FOLLOWS--(1) ATTITUDES TOWARD FATHER'S WORK AND FATHER, (2) ASPIRTIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE AND THE EDUCATIONAL PATHWAY, (3) ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS IN THE SCHOOL SETTING, (4) PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF SELF, AND (5) WORK AND PLAY. (PS)

ED016257

5 0C79

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 1866
Contract No. OE-3-10-28

CONCEPTIONS OF WORK, PLAY, COMPETENCE, AND OCCUPATION IN JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

September, 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

CG 001 337

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

CONCEPTIONS OF WORK, PLAY, COMPETENCE, AND OCCUPATION IN JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Project No. 1866

Contract No. OE-3-10-28

by

Robert Smith and Harold Proshansky

with the collaboration of Ronald Lippitt

September, 1967

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

The Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan

PREFACE

We have learned a great deal the meaning of work, the motivation to work, and the development of the role of worker and citizen from the 1254 young people who made this study possible by their responses to our inquiries. We believe the summaries of their responses, in this report, will have real value for the many dedicated administrators, curricular planners, classroom teachers, and parents who are seeking and testing educational innovations which will both prevent dropping out of the educational process and will challenge and support the development of students from all types of social contexts, intellectual levels, and racial origins.

Our deep gratitude goes to the administrators and teachers in the 13 schools in the Detroit and New York Metropolitan areas who provided the opportunity for the research activity and demonstrated continuing interest and concern as they joined with us in sessions reviewing the data and discussing its meaning for the improvement of education.

And our especial appreciation goes to Karen Donahue for the rapid and efficient production of this report.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Preface ii

List of Tables iv

CHAPTER

1 Introduction 1

2 Research Methodology 17

3 Meanings of and Attitudes Toward Father's Work and Father 51

4 Aspirations about the Future and the Educational Pathway 79

5 Attitudes and Behaviors in the School Setting 134

6 Perceptions and Evaluations of Self 165

7 Work and Play 197

8 Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations 240

Bibliography ....

APPENDICES

A. The Man from Mars

B. Background Information

C. The Semantic Differential

D. Reliability Analysis Summary

E. Factor Analysis Summary

F. Fate Control Index

G. Studing Rating Form

H. Sampling Error of Percentage Differences

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Distribution of Father's Occupation 18

2. Distribution of Religious Preference 20

3. Distribution of White and Negro Children 21

4. Distribution of Social Classes Based on Duncan Index 35

5. Distribution of IQ Scores 38

6. Intactness of Family by Sex and Status 48

7. Intactness of Family by Sex and Status Incongruence 48

8. Cognitions and Feelings about Father's Job by Sex and Status 52

9. Cognitions and Feelings about Father's Job by Sex and Status Incongruence 54

10. The Meaning of Father's Job by Sex and Status 60

11. The Meaning of Father's Job by Sex and Status Incongruence ... 60

12. Description of Father's Job by Sex and Status 62

13. Some Things Particularly Liked About Father's Job by Sex and Status 64

14. Some Things Particularly Disliked About Father's Job by Sex and Status 66

15. Reasons for a New Occupation for Father by Sex and Status 68

16. Desired Occupation Ten Years after High School by Sex and Status 80

17. Expected Occupation Ten Years After High School by Sex and Status 82

18. Desired Occuaption Ten Years after High School by Sex and Status Incongruence 84

19. Expected Occupation Ten Years after High School by Sex and Status Incongruence 86

Table Page

20. Prestige Level of Desired and Expected Occupation by Sex and Status 88
21. Prestige Level of Desired and Expected Occupation by Sex and Status Incongruence 90
22. Present Social Class Identification by Sex and Status 92
23. Expected Future Social Class by Sex and Status 92
24. Present Social Class Identification by Sex and Status Incongruence 93
25. Expected Future Social Class by Sex and Status Incongruence .. 93
26. Social Mobility Expectations by Sex and Status 94
27. Social Mobility Expectations by Sex and Status Incongruence .. 94
28. Perceived Attitude of Father About Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status 96
29. Perceived Attitude of Mother about Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status 96
30. Perceived Attitude of Father about Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status Incongruence 98
31. Perceived Attitude of Mother about Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status Incongruence 98
32. Expectation of Graduating from High School by Sex and Status 100
33. Desire for College by Sex and Status 100
34. Expectation of College by Sex and Status 100
35. Expectation of Graduating from High School by Sex and Status Incongruence 102
36. Desire for College by Sex and Status Incongruence 102
37. Expectation of College by Sex and Status Incongruence 102
38. High School Program Elected or Expected by Sex and Status..... 104
39. High School Program Elected or Expected by Sex and Status Incongruence 104
40. The Meaning of the Past by Sex and Status 108
41. The Meaning of the Past by Sex and Status Incongruence 108

Table Page

42. The Meaning of the Present by Sex and Status 109

43. The Meaning of the Present by Sex and Status Incongruence 109

44. The Meaning of the Future by Sex and Status 110

45. The Meaning of the Future by Sex and Status Incongruence 110

46. Attitude Toward Teachers by Sex and Status 135

47. Attitude Toward Teachers by Sex and Status Incongruence 135

48. The Meaning of School Teachers by Sex and Status 137

49. The Meaning of School Teachers by Sex and Status Incongruence 137

50. The Meaning of School by Sex and Status 138

51. The Meaning of School by Sex and Status Incongruence 138

52. Nominations by Teachers of Those from Class Most Characterized by Certain Behaviors and Attributes by Sex and Status 140

53. Nominations by Teachers of Those from Class Most Characterized by Certain Behaviors and Attributes by Sex and Status 141

54. Preferred High School Reputation by Sex and Status 166

55. Preferred High School Reputation by Sex and Status Incongruence 166

56. Perceived Fate Control by Sex and Status 171

57. Perceived Fate Control by Sex and Status Incongruence 171

58. How People Know They Are Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status 173

59. How People Know They Are Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 174

60. How One Becomes Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status 178

61. How One Becomes Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 178

62. The Meaning of Competence (to be Good at Things) by Sex and Status 180

Table Page

63. The Meaning of Competence (to be Good at Things) by Sex and Status Incongruence 180

64. The Meaning of Achievement (to Accomplish, to Succeed) by Sex and Status 182

65. The Meaning of Achievement (to Accomplish, to Succeed) by Sex and Status Incongruence 182

66. The Kind of Person Seen as Generally Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status 184

67. The Kind of Person Seen as Generally Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence ... 186

68. What a Person Has to Do to be Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status 187

69. What Work Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status 200

70. What Work Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 202

71. When Work is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status 206

72. When Work is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 208

73. When Work is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status 210

74. When Work is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 212

75. What Play Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status 214

76. What Play Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 216

77. When Play is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status 218

78. When Play is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 220

79. When Play Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status 221

80. When Play Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence 222

81. The Meaning of Work by Sex and Status 226

82. The Meaning of Work by Sex and Status Incongruence 226

83. The Meaning of Play by Sex ans Status 228

Table Page

84. The Meaning of Play by Sex and Status Incongruence 228

85. The Meaning of Occupation by Sex and Status 231

86. The Meaning of Occupation by Sex and Status Incongruence 231

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical Focus of the Problem

The present investigation focuses on the work orientations of teenagers at the junior and senior high school levels. "Work orientation" is conceived of here as a complex cognitive structure or system of beliefs relevant to the nature and consequences of socially defined task activities. The orientation consists of any number of beliefs about "work", "play," "occupation," "job," "professions" and such related factors as "competence," "success," "doing well," "having the ability," and the like. These more general beliefs may subsume more specific conceptions about "lawyers," "bricklayers," "housewives," "executives," etc., and the measure of what it takes and what the payoff is if one is competent or successful in these particular occupational or social roles. General or specific, component work orientations are seldom affectively or evaluatively neutral. Reflected in these beliefs -- indirectly if not directly -- are likes and dislikes, preferences and aversions, strong feelings about work, play, particular activities, success and failure, and any number of other work-related concepts.

Work orientations are the outcome of the individual's experiences in a variety of social task situations particularly in the early period of his development. The definition of these situations or the meaning of what he experiences in them is determined by what is communicated to him by his parents, teachers, peers, and the broader social context which defines his and their existence. While the work orientation of each individual is undoubtedly unique, to a large extent it must reflect the broader values of his society and more particularly the particular social groups to which he belongs and with which he is identified. In this sense then the particular social roles (age, sex, etc.) and social categories (social class, religion, race, etc.) which characterize the child from birth onward are significant factors in establishing the substance and form of his work orientation.

Having established the normative character of work orientations it is important to ask what is their theoretical significance in terms of the development and psychological functioning of the individual. To do this we must take a somewhat closer look at the concepts of social role or category and particularly the concept of "occupational role."

Over the last two decades the concept of role has been viewed increasingly as a viable theoretical link between social structure on the one hand and the personality of the individual on the other. What has emerged as an approach is the attempt to conceptualize personality in terms which reflect the interlocking relationship between the individual and the structured social context in which he behaves (Miller, 1961). Personality concepts must be formulated so as to engage, on the one hand, the known properties of the social system (at any one of a number of levels of social organization), and on the other, the known psychological functions of the individual. Personality is conceived of as an open intrapsychic system in which the efficacy of response predisposition (enduring personality attributes) for determining behavior depend, in the last analysis, on the nature of the relevant social context and its inherent social process.

The development of personality concepts which are psychologically and contextually relevant is by no means a simple task. What immediately comes to mind are the postulated conceptions of self which characterize the work of Mead (1934) and Cooley (1922). Comparable is Miller's more recent use of the concept of "self-identity" in which emphasis is placed on the self as, "a socially labeled object that is highly prized and frequently re-evaluated" (Miller, 1961). The development of self-identity is seen to a great extent as a function of the individual's experience in the group. Significant in this context is the degree to which he has internalized his relationships with other group members. Under these circumstances both the judgments of him by other persons in the group and his own self-evaluations involve attributes which are most relevant to the norms of the groups. Thus, in viewing others in the group and his perceptions of himself, the individual employs the same meaning and value framework.

Miller's special contribution to identity theory is to be found in his conceptual elaboration of the structure of the individual's self-identity. Of particular importance in the present context is the concept of sub-identity, defined as the percepts of self-organized about a particular social role (or category) which characterizes the person. Each sub-identity is circumscribed by the limits of a specific social role. The social role designates the person's position in some ordered social structure in terms of expected behaviors, attitudes, and rights and priveleges. The corresponding sub-identity is a complex cognitive structure consisting of all of the traits and evaluations which the person attributes to himself in this role position. Each sub-identity is a unique structure inasmuch as it involves dimensions and evaluations which go beyond the expected role attributes as well as those commonly employed to define the role.

It follows from the above discussion that it is the psychological counterpart of the person's occupational role, that is his occupational sub-identity (or just plain occupational identity) which determines, organizes, and defines his behavior in occupationally relevant contexts. The socially defined features of a given occupational role and its related normative properties are modified and subject to increasing differentiation in the light of the particular cognitive orientations, selected experiences, and other role (or category) demands, e.g., sex, race, etc., characterizing the individual or group of individuals who occupy this role.

Yet, it would be a mistake to believe that the individual's occupational identity is constrained by the socially defined limits of his occupational role, or that its development simply parallels the formal choices he makes and the related experiences he has with respect to achieving and fulfilling this role. On the contrary the assumption is made here that the person's occupational identity begins to take shape very early in the life of the child. And that whatever occupational role (or category of occupational roles) he comes to choose, and more significantly, how he defines and behaves in this role once it is selected, depends to more than a small degree on an occupational identity whose fundamental properties have long been established. No matter that the young child is a long way from realistically considering, let alone choosing, a particular occupational role. The fact is that work, play, and competence concerns are inherently involved in the social roles (and categories) that define his existence from birth onward, e.g., sex, age, social class, religion, etc.; and out of all these roles experiences in the home, school, and peer group, there slowly but inexorably emerges his occupational identity -- a set of self-referent, evaluative conceptions of work, play, competence, success, occupation, and other factors that structure the world of socially defined activities in a complex industrialized society. It follows from this view that the work orientations of the child express and define his emerging occupational identity.

A number of implications with respect to the occupational identity of the adult can be drawn from the analysis just presented. Without denying its uniqueness for each individual, it is evident that there will be many common dimensions, i.e., traits and evaluative standards, in the occupational identity structures of individuals in the same occupational role. These similarities reflect not merely the formally stated requirements of the role (e.g., the patient comes first in the medical doctor-patient relationship), but also the norms of an occupational role which are implicit rather than openly recognized or stated (e.g., the success of a medical doctor is evaluated in terms of income -- rather than or in addition to professional skill).

Yet, it also follows from the above formulation that there will be differences as well as similarities in the component elements of the occupational identities of individuals in the same occupational role. Apart from the differences in their occupational identity structures, which we can attribute to their unique experiences, we can also expect various occupants of the role to show similarities in these structures which distinguish them from other occupants of the role. Theoretical approaches to self commonly conceive of the self-identity of the individual as a system of interacting psychological structures. Concepts of self formed very early in life, that is, the "core identity" (Miller, 1961), influence and are influenced by the developing sub-identities of the person, e.g., sex, age, ethnic group, etc., and each of the latter in turn modifies and is modified by the other sub-identities. To the extent that an occupational role is selected by a number of core identity types, we can expect similarities in the occupational identities of individuals of a given type and corresponding differences between these individuals and those other persons in the occupation representing other core identity types.

In terms of the present research, however, of greater concern are the other sources of such similarities and differences in the occupational identities of individuals in the same occupational role. For a given occupational role, persons of the same sex, religion, ethnic background, etc., will be more similar in the values and meanings characterizing their occupational identities than others who differ correspondingly in these respects. A corollary of this view, of course, is that individuals who have more than one social role in common, i.e., sex and ethnic background, will show even greater similarities in their occupational identities. We have already suggested that persons in the same social role will have common elements in their corresponding sub-identities by virtue of their common interaction experiences in relevant social contexts. Systematic differences, then, in the sex identities of men and women or in the class identities of middle and lower class individuals should lead to differential effects in their occupational identities for a given occupational role.

One major assumption made in identity theory is that the various sub-identities of the person mutually influence each other. The view that the sex, class, and other sub-identities of the person affect the development of this occupational identity gains considerable support from two important considerations. First, it is clearly evident that the social roles corresponding to the former, i.e., sex, class, and other sub-identities, are established quite early in life, if not at birth, certainly long before the individual experiences any real concern with his occupational role. What we are suggesting is that the sex, class, and other sub-identities of the person are, relatively speaking, more highly structured and therefore can exert a ready influence on the later evolvement of his occupational identity. Yet, it is the second consideration which highlights the substantive importance of this influence. As we have already contended, some of the traits and values which we believe characterize these other sub-identities are directly relevant to the subsequently encountered occupational context. Not only are the encompassing social roles of sex, religion, social class, etc., established early in life, but involved in their definition both explicitly and implicitly are norms and values which have as consequences the nature of the occupational experiences encountered later in life.

Through subtle as well as direct means of indoctrination, particular cognitions are established around such issues as "work," "play," "fun," "achievement," "job," and others. These meanings vary depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl, a lower or middle-class child, Negro or white in skin color, and as a result of other differences in the social roles or categories of children. Similarly differential cognitions emerge with respect to standards of competence, the substantive nature of the task world, and the character of patterned relationships in a task context, e.g., conceptions of authority, cooperation, competition, etc., in working with others. What we are suggesting is that at a rudimentary level the occupational identity of the person is being shaped long before training and participation in his actual occupational role occurs. It should be understood that we do not mean to imply that the individual's actual experiences in this role are of little consequence in the formation of his corresponding identity. On the contrary, to more than a small degree the structure and substance of this identity are determined by these relevant socializing experiences. These experiences, however, are interpreted and assimilated in accord with other relevant self-percepts organized throughout the early life of the person in terms of his social roles.

Related Research

Directly relevant to the present investigation are a large group of studies which can be subsumed roughly under the heading of "the occupational attitudes and beliefs of grade school students." While this literature is vast and diversified, it must be noted that its focus is specific in one sense: emphasis is given to the perception and evaluation of occupations rather than what we have defined as "work orientation."

It should also be stressed that a host of problems rather than a single problem focus have given impetus to this type of investigation. In some instances there was a primary interest in stratification effects and this in demonstrating the influence of social class on job orientation and aspirations; others have sought to determine the effects of parental attitudes and "family atmosphere" on occupational interests; and still others have attempted to measure the latter as a means for establishing another set of factors contributing to the variance in the development of occupational choice.

In the preparation of the present study and the preliminary investigation, over one hundred studies and theoretical articles were reviewed. Directly concerned with the occupational cognitions of students and studies reported by Galler (1951) and Grunes (1956, 1957). In the Galler study, school children representing two age groups, both sexes, and different social classes were asked to write essays on the subject of their future occupational preference and the reasons for the choice. The Grunes study considered what the "high school student sees when he looks at the world of occupations". She determined these perceptions by having the students group occupations that seemed to go together and then explain what they had in common. She then related these classifications to ability and social class. The significance of these studies for the present investigation was the implications of the finding for differences to be expected in the conceptions of students with respect to the nature of occupations, and the relationship of differences in phenomenal worlds to social variables.

Similarly, a study of "Job Attitudes and Job Choice among Secondary Modern School Leavers" reported by Jahoda (1952), suggested the significance of the sex role as a determinant of values underlying the choice of job, e.g., security, advancement, etc. The O'Dowd and Beardslee (1960) study of the images of professions and occupations likewise indicated sex differences and suggested the importance of belief systems in determining these occupational images. The Lenski (1961) study of "The Religious Factor" focuses on the importance of both social class and religion as determinants of various attitudes, including attitudes toward work and leisure. The significance of another social variable is indicated in the Miller-Swanson (1958) work wherein the role of one's integration setting in the generation of attitudes and behavior is established. Studies of the development of occupational choices, e.g., Ginzberg, et. al. (1951); Rosenburg (1957), etc., were significant in pointing to the importance of cognitive factors in understanding the student's approach to occupations and occupational choice with increasing age. Of theoretical relevance in turning our attention to work orientation was Miller's self-identity theory (1961, 1963) which stresses the importance of work-related identity dimensions for the total personality. Bernstein's (1958) theoretical discussion of subculture differences in perception is also very relevant in that it focuses attention on social factors as determinants of perception and cognition.

Objectives

The success of the institutionalized educational process depends to a large extent on the efficacy of its attempts to engage the motivation of the child. Underlying these attempts are a host of implicit and explicit assumptions concerning the nature of the learner, e.g., how he will interpret particular events, his immediate goals, his future aspirations, and so on. It has increasingly been recognized that the extent to which these assumptions are valid varies with the patterns of socialization experiences which characterize the learner (in the family setting, neighborhood context, and so on). What works in engaging the motivation of some students does not necessarily work with others. Furthermore, equally motivated learners may be responding in terms of differential needs and satisfactions -- some of which are not the intended focus of the educator. The full development and utilization of personal potential or talent depends to a high degree on the nature of the type of work orientation the young person develops.

The significance of the present research endeavor for the educational setting lies in its attempt to understand differences in the nature and degree of learner motivation. It is assumed that the way the child interprets various aspects of a defined learning situation-- or what we have chosen to call his work orientation --largely determines the strength and character of his motivation in that situation. If, as we have found in a preliminary interview study, some children conceive of any work activity as "not fun" when it is initiated and fostered by adult power or coercion, then it is patent the extent and quality of their motivation will differ from that of children who emphasize the intrinsic nature of the activity as a basis for evaluating whether it is "fun" or "not fun" work. Similarly the student who evaluates his own task performance by comparison with others in the learning situation, will be more responsive to certain kinds of learning contexts than the child who employs the standard of "sel-potential" or "potential capacity" as the criterion for performance evaluation.

Establishing the relationships between social roles and various components of work orientation should provide an empirical basis for understanding some aspects of the differential motive patterns underlying the school performance of boys vs. girls, middle-class vs. lower-class students, Negroes vs. whites, older vs. younger students, etc. It is not unlikely that such pervasive problems as "drop-outs," delinquency, and low achievement, which have been found to characterize students in particular social roles, may be subjected to a more detailed causal analysis in the light of the obtained relationships.

Earlier we made reference to a body of literature concerned with the occupational attitudes and beliefs of grade school students. Here we must take note of how the present investigation was intended to extend the present body of knowledge in this respect and more particularly with regard to the student's perceived world of work.

1. Rather than merely focusing on occupational beliefs and attitudes the present study considers many other components of the student's work orientation, e.g., the nature of "work," "competence," etc. In this sense our understanding of student motivation in the school setting as a function of age, sex, and other social roles should be far more comprehensive.

2. In much of the previous research reviewed, a limited number of independent variables have been systematically studied for their effects on the perceptions of occupations, jobs, and the like. The present study considers not only the influence of sex, age, and social class, but also considers other significant causal factors, e.g., religion, race, ethnic background, father's type of occupation, geographical region, and others.

3. A unique aspect of the present research is its attempt to determine how the student evaluates his competence in given activities. What criteria does he emply in order to determine whether his performance

is good or poor in an activity? None of the many studies reviewed in the literature considered this significant question. In terms of understanding student motivation, it is important to determine the nature of the process leading to self-evaluation. To the extent that aspiration level is a function of previous performances (i.e., successes and failures) of the individual, it is essential that we know what and how criteria are employed in the continuing process of evaluation. The relationship of competency criteria to degree of capacity utilization and areas of utilization are of particular interest.

4. Few, if any, of the many studies reviewed sought to relate student conceptions of the occupational world with their behavior in the classroom setting. In the present study there will be an attempt to study the relationship between various work orientation components and behavior in the school situation, e.g., participation, over and under achievement, course and curriculum preference, etc.

5. Finally, the present study will consider the patterning or organization of work orientation components. Do various components, e.g., conceptions of work, competence, play, job, etc., cluster to the extent that types of work orientations can be distinguished for particular social roles and categories?

Some Empirical Predictions

Ideally the formulation of the theoretical assumptions elaborated at the beginning of our discussion should have been followed by a comparative analysis of various social roles and categories leading to empirical predictions of the specific similarities and differences in the work orientations of their various occupants. The limited nature, however, of existing data and theory with respect to sex, age, social class, and other social roles precluded this possibility. It was this paucity of findings in the literature which led us to undertake an exploratory study to determine the nature and variety of attitude and cognitions about work and related matters. This preliminary study involved the intensive interviewing of fifth, eighth, and twelfth grade boys and girls from middle- and lower-class homes (total N of 32). Notwithstanding the small number of cases a number of clear-cut differences were found in the work orientation of the various groups. The following represent some of the kinds of findings obtained:

1. Conceptions of "Work"

    a. High school seniors are more likely than eighth graders to conceive of work as compelled activity, e.g., adult coercion, earning a living, etc.

    b. Female students (regardless of age) conceive of work most frequently in terms of the expenditure of energy and achieving some activity-related effect, e.g., turing out a product, doing something constructive, etc.; male students stress earning a living and adult coercion (compelled activity).

    c. Middle-class students show a greater tendency to conceive of work in terms of activity-related effect, e.g., turning out a product, etc., than lower-class students; the latter, in turn, stress the instrumental character of work in terms of obtaining tangible rewards, e.g., money, etc.

2. The Meaning of Competence: Modes of evaluating competence.

    a. High school seniors consistently stress one or more of three comparison modes of evaluating competence (relative to self-potential; relative to others; and relative to social expectations), with greatest emphasis placed on performance relative to self-potential criterion; eighth-graders employ the difficulty criterion most frequently (i.e., whether the task is experienced as difficult or hard in doing it), with relative to others being the only comparison process referred to at all, and that with a relatively low frequency.

b. Male high school students show a greater tendency than their female counterparts to employ the relative to self-potential mode of evaluating competency; the latter, in turn, employ the experienced difficulty and the relative to other criterion to a greater extent than the high school males.

The nature and richness of these preliminary findings encouraged us to explore the area more intensively with more adequate samples.

1. To determine whether other independent variables which were not considered in the preliminary study are related to work orientations. Some of these variables are as follows: a) father's occupation, particular with reference to factors other than social class; b) religious preference, that is, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish; c) I.Q.; d) relative achievement; and e) race.

2. To answer the question of the interrelationship among the various components of work orientation. Are conceptions of "work," "play," "competence," "job," "success," etc., patterned in particular ways for the various social roles and categories? Can we speak of types of work orientation?

4. Finally, the components of work orientation are conceived of as intervening variables engendered by specific role experiences in the group on the one hand, e.g., sex, social class, etc., and influencing

the student's motivation (and therefore behavior) in the school setting on the other. For example, it would seem reasonable to infer that those with common work orientations would exhibit similar patterns of capacity utilization and would, controlling for intellectual differences, manifest similar patterns of behavior in general. Thus, tests of relationships between work orientation variables (and patterns) and school performance and other school behavior variables, e.g., discipline, program selected, dropping out of school, etc., can be made.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data reported in this study were collected from 1254 teenagers from 13 public schools in the Detroit and New York areas. The schools were selected on the basis of the social characteristics of the local community which contained them, in order to insure that the major religious groups, occupational levels, social classes and races in these communities would be adequately represented in the student sample. Representative eighth, tenth, and twelfth grade classes were then selected within each school in the attempt to obtain students who did not differ in any essential respects from the school population as a whole.

Characteristics of the Sample.

In no sense was the present study conceived in terms of a "national sample," that would permit generalizations to be made about the American teenage population as a whole. For this reason it is important to examine the demographic characteristics of the actual sample of teenagers investigated in order to determine the nature and extent to which generalizations of the findings are possible. Thus, the characteristics of the sample are reviewed below and, where possible, they are compared with existing census data.

Sex and grade. In this investigation males slightly predominate (52 to 48%) and eighth graders are more heavily represented than tenth and twelfth graders (36%, 33%, and 31% respectively for the tenth through twelfth grades). In neither case, however, is this difference significant. There are somewhat more males than females at each of the three grade levels and there are more eighth than tenth graders and more tenth than twelfth graders within each sex.

Occupation of father. The social class index employed in the present study, which will be discussed later in this chapter, was based on the respondent's description of his father's occupation. The distribution of these occupations, which is shown in Table 1, is similar to the distribution of occupations in the United States according to 1960 census data.

TABLE 1
Distribution of Father's Occupation

Father's Occupation	Sample	Census[1]
Professional & technical	9%	11%
Managers, officials & propriators	18	11
Clerical & sales	7	14
Craftsmen, foreman	25	21
Operatives	27	21
Service workers	7	6
Labor	7	10
Farm Owners	*[2]	6
	100% [3] (1045)	100%

---

[1] These percentages are based on data from page 232 of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States:1963 (Eighty-fourth Edition). Washington,D.C., 1963

[2] Throughout this report, a single asterisk will indicate a percentage rounding to less than 1.

[3] The questions concerning the father's occupation came at the end of the questionnaire and because of time pressures in some schools not all respondents completed those items. In addition, some reported no father in the family and information supplied by others was not adequate to classify accurately the occupation.

The present sample contains a somewhat greater proportion of fathers in the "Managers, Official, and Propriators" category (18% vs. 11%), and only half the percentage of fathers in "Clerical and Sales" occupations (7% vs. 14%) than what is true of the nation at large. Fathers who are "Operatives" also made up a somewhat greater proportion of the present sample than what is reported for a national sample based on the 1960 census data (27% vs. 21%). There were much smaller differences between the two distributions in the proportion of fathers who fell into the "Labor" "Craftsmen, foremen," and "Professional and technical" categories. On the other hand the present sample was almost completely devoid of students whose fathers were "Farm Owners". Because of our method of selecting schools, and because we were not especially interested in the rural-urban dimension, we obtained less than one-half of one percent farm owners compared with six percent in the United States.

Religion. Since it is the policy of some communities to refrain from identifying students in terms of religious preference, we did not include questions of this nature in the questionnaire administered in their schools. Thus, we have the family religious preferences for only 70% of the sample. When compared with the population at large, it can be seen in Table 2 that the study sample contains more Catholics (35% vs. 26%) and fewer Protestants (59% vs. 69%). Among the Protestants, it is evident that the various denominations appear to be adequately represented. It is also evident that the proportion of Jews in the present sample is twice as great as that found in the population at large.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Religious Preference

Family Religious Preference	Sample	Census[4]
Catholic	35%	26%
Protestant	56	67
Baptist	14	20
Methodist	14	20
Lutheran	8	7
Presbyterian	5	6
Other Protestant	15	20
Jew	6	3
Others, None, family preference mixed	3	4
	100%	100%
	(869)[5]	

Race. It can be seen in Table 3 that the sample contains 67% White and 30% Negro respondents. According to the 1960 census data the proportion of Whites and Negroes is 89 and 10% respectively. In the sample, Negroes are overrepresented by a factor of about three.

---

[4] *Ibid.*, page 45

[5] At the request of some school administrators, questions concerning religion were omitted from the questionnaires of approximately 350 respondents.

TABLE 3

Distribution of White and Negro Children

Race	Sample	Census[6]
White	67%	89%
Negro	30	10
Others, Not Ascertained	3	1
	100%	100%
	(1254)	

Summary. The schools that participated in this study were all drawn from urban and suburban settings, and in this respect only the Detroit and New York City areas are represented. This limitation in the sample posed no particular problem since it was not our intention to characterize the work orientations of teenagers in the United States generally. The primary objective was to study the influence of sex, social class, race, on the development of such orientations in urban school children varying in these characteristics. We sampled only two urban areas in two geographical regions, but it is highly likely that out findings apply to many other urban areas both within and beyond these regions because of the considerable similarity among all such urban settings in the United States.

---

[6] Ibid., page 24

However, it is important to take note of two factors which might have served to bias the findings even for these settings if not for the teenage population generally. First, participation was voluntary on the part of the schools studied. Those schools contacted (on a stratified basis) that chose not to participate in the study were replaced by others from communities with similar demographic characteristics. Secondly, as we already noted, certain compromises concerning the study design had to be made with some school officials as a condition of participation. Yet, even with these two limitations there is little reason not to regard our findings as typical of teenagers in the Detroit and New York areas, if not for those in urban areas generally. Schools that refused to participate were not noticeably different than those that accepted the study; and the methodological accommodations we made to satisfy specific school requirements (e.g., subjects tested in one big group rather than in the actual class setting) were by no means radical departures from the usual school or research procedures.

In comparison to the general population of teenagers, the study sample shows considerable similarity to it in terms of age and sex distributions. Although the distribution of father's occupation in the sample varies somewhat from the general population, it is clearly adequate for social class analysis, that is, for comparing children from white-collar vs. blue-collar families or from middle-vs. working-class families. The major deviations of the sample characteristics from population parameters involve the race and religious background of the children. We were concerned that the "minority" groups be adequately represented in order to insure a sufficient number of cases for making meaningful comparisions between different racial and religious groups. We therefore solicited the participation of schools in communities known to be heavily populated by Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. Thus, the findings for the total sample, because of these population deviations as well as those noted above, clearly have limited generalizability insofar as all teenagers in America are concerned.

Data Collection Procedures

The administrative decision to participate in the present investigation was made at different levels of authority depending on the school system involved. In some cases the principal of a school was contacted directly and he decided independently whether or not to cooperate in the research endeavor. In most instances, however, the city or county board of education in conjunction with the recommendation of the superintendent of schools assumed responsibility for this decision. This was true of school systems in which there were established procedures for outside researchers to obtain permission to study or test students in the system. A favorable decision at this level usually, though not always, resulted in the fullest cooperation from the schools selected for study. As one might expect, the proposed research plan was by no means accepted by every school system contacted. The basis of the rejection was usually the fact that the research required a minimum of three class hours of class time rather than the nature of the study itself. When the request for permission to carry out the research was denied by a particular school system, the investigators were fortunately able to gain entrance into another school system in a community in the same geographical area and with comparable demographic characteristics.

The design called for the study of representative eighth, tenth, and twelfth grade classes in each school selected. These classes were usually visited separately and at different times, although at one school, arrangements were made to test all three grade levels at the same time. The students filled out three instruments of the questionnaire-inventory type, which usually required two and a half to three hours of the respondent's time. Some schools were visited for an hour on each of three consecutive days, one instrument being administered on each day; at others, the classes would be made available for a three hour period thereby allowing all three instruments to be completed in a single morning or afternoon. All of the data of the present study were collected in the Spring and Fall of 1962. The other sources of data were the students' school records and ratings of their behavior on specific dimensions made by their teachers.

School record data. IQ and achievement data were obtained from the school records. Both types of data were derived from a variety of tests. With respect to IQ it was found that the variances of the different tests were comparable, such that for our purpose all scores could be treated as if they were obtained from a single source. This was not true, however, with respect to the achievement data. Not only were they derived from several non-comparable ways, but in the absence of any group achievement data the grades from required courses were employed as measures of achievement. Because of the variety of types of achievement scores obtained, each student's score was converted into his percentile rank within his group.

Teacher ratings. The teachers were asked to evaluate the male pupils in their class by selecting the two or three boys who ranked the highest of the lowest in terms of such attributes as helpfulness, poise, openess, influence over peers, friendliness, and others. They were also asked to do the same thing for the girls in their class (See Appendix C).

Man from Mars Questionnaire. The work orientations of the students were studied intensively by means of the Man from Mars Questionnaire (MMQ). This instrument was designed specifically for the present study and was based on a more elaborate "Man from Mars" technique developed by Zajonc (1955) for studying the content and structure of beliefs. Respondents are confronted with open-ended questions in which they are asked to explain to a "Man from Mars" the meaning of various phrases and words. They are given to understand that the visitor from outer space knows nothing of our world and its cultures, and therefore, the experiences designated by particular English words and phrases must be explained to him fully and in detail.

Included in the MMQ are many items deemed to be relevant to an individual's work orientations; the meaning of work and the conditions under which it is liked and disliked; what play means and the factors which determine when it will be liked and when it will be disliked; how a person becomes good at something and how he knows when he has achieved competency at something; how a person becomes successful; the criteria important in choosing a career or a job; and others. (See Appendix A).

Because less time was available at some schools than others, and because some students worked more slowly than others, the MMQ was not completed by many students. Practically all respondents gave definitions of work and play since these were among the first questions asked; however, fewer told us how a person becomes successful at his work inasmuch as this item was among the last few in the questionnaire. Ninety-eight percent of the respondents indicated the conditions under which they liked work, but only 70% expressed a codeable opinion regarding how a person becomes a success at his occupation. It was usually the younger and the slower students who were among the 30% who were unable to complete the questionnaire.

Background Information Questionnaire. Most of the independent variables in the study were measured by means of selected items included in the Background Information Questionnaire (BIQ). In addition to the usual items required to classify the respondent in terms of his social attributes (i.e., sex, religion, race, etc.), he was asked about: the education of his parents; size and composition of the family; the nature and setting of the father's job; background of the parents; attitude of the parents regarding respondent's education; respondent's work experience; his opinion regarding various occupations; his educational and occupational aspirations; his perceptions of social class in general and his own present and anticipated class position; and his beliefs about the extent of his control over his own fate. Most of these items were of the fixed alternative type in which the respondent either checks or circles the appropriate response (See Appendix B).

Semantic Differential. The third instrument employed in the study was Osgood's Semantic Differential (SD). Many of the concepts studied in the MMQ, e.g., work play, competence, as well as others were rated on twelve 7-point scales. The factor analysis of these scale judgments yielded three factors, the usual Evaluation meaning dimension (e.g., good-bad), a Vigor dimension (e.g., masculine-feminine and strong-weak) which includes elements from the usual Potency and Activity factors reported by Osgood (1957), and the third, a Difficulty dimension (e.g., tough going-easy going, difficult-easy, frightening-not frightening).[a] In this study, the primary objective was to compare different subgroups (grouped in terms of the independent variables) in terms of the distribution of key work orientation elements in the three-dimensional semantic space. These findings, in turn, were seen as supplementary to those obtained from the MMQ. (See Appendix C for a list of the concepts and scales.)

---

[a] See Appendix E for a discussion of the factor analysis results.

Pretesting. The instruments were pretested on approximately 130 eighth and twelfth graders. On the basis of this preliminary data, the wording of certain items was modified, other items were eliminated, and some new ones were added. The pretest material, along with data obtained in the earlier exploratory study consisting of face-to-face interviews with 32 school students, provided the basis for the development of provisional codes for the content analysis of the qualitative data gathered with the MMQ in the main investigation.

Classroom Procedure. The MMQ represented a task of some magnitude for all respondents. Because of its length and the considerable writing required, it was divided into roughly three parts. After the first part of the MMQ was completed, and then again after the second part, time was allowed for the resondents to complete the other less demanding instruments. Thus, all repondents began the testing session with the first part of the MMQ. When this was completed they were given the Semantic Differential which in turn was then followed by the administration of the second part of the MMQ. Following the latter the students completed the BIQ. The remaining available time was then devoted to their completing, if possible, the final section of the MMQ.

Coding Procedures

The coding of the responses to the SD and the BIQ was a relatively straight-forward procedure. For most items in these instruments the respondent was required merely to check one from a number of fixed alternative responses. On the other hand the open-ended character of many of the questions in the MMQ, required the empirical derivation of a set of coding categories from the analysis of the responses given to each such question. Much of the discussion that follows focuses on the construction, use, and reliability of these various sets of coding categories. The same general procedures were followed in the case of all of the sets of codes.

Construction of MMQ codes. A subsample of approximately 100 questionnaires was drawn from the total sample to represent all the subject groups included in the study. The one-hundred responses given to each question were then examined in detail for "natural" clusters of ideas. Responses in effect, were regarded as similar--despite differences in specifics on actual wording--if the underlying conception of a work orientation element was the same. For example, responses which defined work as "manual labor", "physical activity", "movement", "mental energy", and the like all seemed to stress the conception of work as Energy Expenditure; these responses in turn could be contrasted with those that conceived of work as psychological pressure or strain, e.g., "activity under pressure", "difficult activity", etc. Of course many of the conceptual dimensions for establishing each set of coding categories were in most instances already suggested to us by the data obtained in the exploratory interview study and in the pretesting phase of the present study. The fact that these dimensions of categories were found adequate for content analysis in these preliminary researches encouraged us to apply them to the main body of data. Once the code system for a particular question was worked out, each code category was then labeled and defined as completely as possible.

Once the various sets of categories were established, they were tested on another sample of 50 MMQ questionnaires by a graduate assistant who had not participated in the code construction. On the basis of the coding problems encountered by him, some category descriptions and boundaries were sharpened and where necessary new categories were added, whereas others were combined or expanded. While the code system for each question was more or less firmly established in this way, in the early stages of production coding, the coders kept a record of all responses which gave them some difficulty, e.g., a resonse which could not be classified by the existing code. In some instances these "difficult" responses involved some new conception or idea, and if they occurred with some frequency a category was added to the code for the relevant items.

Although the 150 questionnaires employed in the construction of the codes were production coded along with the rest of those in the sample, they were not included in the reliability analysis of the codes and coding procedures reported below.

Coding the MMQ responses. The coders were confronted with essentially two tasks--one of editing responses and the other of coding them. Regarding the former, they had to decide which portions of the responses constituted codeable material, and of that portion, which parts represented separate ideas. The second task, of course, was making decisions regarding the appropriate content category for each codeable idea. In pursuing this dual function two coders could disagree at any one of the following places in the coding process: they might disagree as to what parts of a respondent's answer were relevant or irrelevant; if they agreed in this judgment they still could differ about how many differently codeable ideas were involved in the relevant parts of the responses; and finally, if they agreed up to this point they could still disagree about how each idea or meaning unit should be categorized in the coding system.

The coders were instructed that they were to consider a meaning unit as a word, phrase, sentence or group of sentences making a point discriminable from other points. If among a set of discriminable meaning units, two or more of them involved the same idea or conception, e.g., work is manual labor and the expenditure of energy, the idea was coded only once. On the other hand, if the respondent conceived of work in a number of different ways, e.g. work is manual labor and what others force you to do, each of these different conceptions was coded. Thus, the record for each respondent indicates merely the presence or absence of a particular notion in his response.

More than half of the interviews were coded by experienced coders employed by the Coding Service of the Institute for Social Research. The remaining interviews, about 40%, were coded subsequently by undergraduates from the University of Michigan especially employed for this task. A similar training procedure was followed for the two groups of coders. Following a lengthy review of the content codes for all items, special practice interviews were coded in common by all coders and the results reviewed in group discussions. The second group of coders, being less experienced, were asked in addition, to code a few of the interviews previously coded by the more experienced coders. In the production coding, there were no significant differences in the error rates of the two groups.

Check coding. Check coding was done by the more experienced coders and by study personnel. Apart from providing data for the reliability analysis, the check coding served also a continuing training function for the coders and as feedback for the supervisor concerning both the performance of the coders and the quality of the codes. Twenty percent of the MMQ interviews were check coded (forty percent early in production coding); ten percent of the others.

Reliability Analysis. The information used as a basis for the reliability analysis of the coding systems and procedures, included all agreements and disagreements between the two coders and the code categories used. From these records, it was possible to determine whether a disagreement represented the assignment of the response to different categories or whether one of the two coders judged the response as not codeable. The latter will be referred to as editing reliability, whereas the former can be more appropriately described as coding reliability. We made this distinction because had the material been pre-edited, it is highly likely that very few, if any, of the editing disagreements would have ended up as coding disagreements. Editing disagreements at times, for example, reflected differences between the judges in how many discriminable meaning units there were in a given statement, such that if one judged that there were six and the other only five then on at least one unit there would be an editing disagreement. If, however, the second judge was presented with the sixth meaning unit and asked to categorize it (as the first judge did on his own), it is conceivable that despite their editing disagreement they would agree on how the meaning unit was to be classified. Coding reliability, of course, tests the adequacy of the set of coding categories for an item in terms of the extent of agreement when coders independently match inferred meanings of responses with category meanings.

The assessment of the overall coding operation must take into consideration all sources of reliability. Since it was possible, from the records, to determine the type of disagreement, two sets of agreement percentages were computed, one representing the overall agreement (Total Reliability) and the second based on only instances of category-category agreement or disagreement (Coding Reliability).

Before turning to the agreement percentages, a word is in order concerning their interpretation as indices of reliability. An agreement percentage is ambiguous in that the proportion of agreement which is chance can vary depending on the number of categories and the differential frequency of occurrence of those categories. When these two factors vary from code to code, therefore, derived agreement percentages for different codes are not comparable. Thus, a higher percentage of agreement in a code with few categories may represent a lower reliability than a lower percentage of agreement in a code with many categories.

In order to better interpret our reliability data, the Lambda Index of Predictive Association[7] was computed for each agreement percentage. This statistic seemed ideal for our purpose in that it indicates the probability of agreement between two independent judges apart from chance agreement.

The open-ended items of the MMQ consisted of two types, the unlimited and the limited response items. The limited type was of the form "name up to three things" whereas no such limit was suggested for the other, unlimited type item. These are discussed more fully in Appendix D. The reliability of these two types of items will be summarized separately. The median Total agreement for the unlimited response items was 80% while the Code agreement was 91%. The respective Lambda Indices of Association were .70 and .86. (See Table D-1 in Appendix D for the reliability data for all unlimited response items.) Some of the limited response items asked for "thing", e.g., traits, skills, etc.; the others requested "reasons" for each "thing" mentioned. The median Total and Code agreement for the former were 86 and 92% respectively while the median Lambda values were .78 and .87. The comparable data for the Reasons were precentages of 66 and 80 with Lambdas of .54 and .70 respectively for the Total and Code agreement. (The complete set of data for these items can be found in Table D-2, Appendix D.)

---

[7] See Appendix D for the version of the Lambda of Predictive Association formula used.

The overall reliability, whether one examines the Total or Code agreement percentages or their respective sets of Lambda Indices, must be regarded as at least satisfactory. All reliabilities are clearly significantly different from zero association. They were different from zero association by 4 to 42 Standard Error units. This means that even the _poorest_ reliability was significantly different from no association at beyond the _.0001_ level. (A summary of the significance levels for all codes can be found in Table D-3, Appendix D.)

Independent Variable Measures

Social Class. The measure of social class used in the present study is based on father's occupation using an occupational prestige index developed by Duncan (Reiss, et.al., 1961). His contribution was to extend the North-Hatt Prestige scale of Occupations (National Opinion

Research Center, 1953) to cover all occupations listed in the census code. He argues that most of the occupational prestige variance can be accounted for by the education and income associated with the occupation. On the basis of 1950 census data, the relative weights of education and income in predicting to the prestige values reported by North and Hatt were calculated. With the weights supplied by this regression formula it was possible to then calculate the presumeably equivalent prestige scores for the rest of the occupations listed in the census occupation code. Two sets of scores were reported, one the NORC scale equivalent and the second a "socioeconomic index" which is related to the former. The socioeconomic index which we shall also refer to as the Duncan Index, was used as a measure of social class in the present study since its scores ranged from 0 to 96; the NORC scale equivalent scores hdd somewhat narrower range (20 to 93) and therefore was less preferred.

On the basis of the Duncan Index, our sample was somewhat arbitrarily divided into five class levels. Class I represents those occupations ranked among the top 10% on the Duncan socio-economic index and Class V, those ranked among the bottom 30%. Classes II through IV each successively represent 20% of the remaining 60%. A comparison of the cutoff points indicated above with the proportion of the sample actually represented at each level may be made by referring to Table 4. The first column gives the proportions classified based on the total number of resondents in the sample, whereas the second column shows the percentages in each class based on the total number of respondents who could be classified.

TABLE 4

Distribution of Social Classes Based on Duncan Index

	Total Sample	Portion Classified	1950 Census[8]
Class I (High)	11%	14%	10%
Class II	20	24	20
Class III	21	25	20
Class IV	22	27	20
Class V (Low)	9	10	30
Unclassified	17	--	--
	100%	100%	100%
	(1254)	(1045)	

It is apparent that the sample appears to be somewhat under-represented by very low prestige occupations. There are two factors which may account for the relatively fewer low-prestige occupations in our sample. First, it is possible that over the last decade there has been an increasing proportion of the population achieving higher level occupations. More likely, however, is the fact that there is an urban-big city bias in our sample; many of the very low-ranked occupations tend to be rural. Also, many of the non-big city factory workers tend to be from especially low paying industries, i.e., pottery, garment industry, etc., while a large proportion of the factory workers in the sample were from high paying industries, e.g., the auto industry. It will be recalled that one of the two factors which determine the Duncan Index value is the income level of an occupation. The urban bias of the sample has already been discussed.

---

[8] From Reiss, 1961, Appendix B.

Race-Religion. The respondents' race (Negro-White) was observed and recorded by the test administrators. The students were assigned numbers by having them "count off," and in the process the test administrator recorded their racial group as well as their identifying number. The religion of the student was based on his response to the question "What is the religious preference of your family?"

In the present sample--as we indicated earlier--Negroes were clearly overrepresented. The fact that most Negroes are Protestant in their religious preference, and not only that, of different denominations and sects, meant that the analysis of the effects of religion per se, regardless of color would be difficult to interpret because of the confounding sub-cultural effects contributed by the Negro Protestants. Therefore, it was deemed more desirable to study the effects of a Protestant, religious background in Negro and white students separately. Since the number of Negro Catholics was so very small they were omitted in the analysis of the effects of religion. Lenski (1961) can be consulted for a fuller discussion of the rational for treating Negro and white Protestants as different sub-cultural groups.

Grade. Not quite all of the respondents in the sample were in the three grades requested. Just under one-half of one percent of the respondents (N=62) listed themselves as in the 7th, 9th, or 11th grade. Rather than dropping these few cases from the analysis, the seventh graders among them were regarded as eighth graders, the ninth as tenth graders, and the eleventh as twelfth graders.

Intelligence. The cognitive focus of the present study required that serious consideration be given to differences in intelligence among the students in the sample. The failure to control for this variable in other investigations invariably created the problem of interpreting the effects of other independent variables, notably, social class. For this reason measures of IQ for each respondent were obtained from school records wherever such information was avilable.

As one might expect a wide variety of tests had been employed for measuring the IQ of the respondents. In general, group tests were most often used, and among these the California test of Mental Maturity clearly predominated. Given these differences in the measures of IQ employed, it was necessary to consider the question of the comparability of scores from one test to the next.

It is customary to standardize new IQ tests--individual or group measures--so that the new scores can be interpreted as comparable to those derived from previously developed individual tests such as the Stanford-Binet. It is necessary, therefore, among other requirements, that the variance of the scores of the new test be approximately the same as the variance of the criterion test; or that the scores of the former be converted into scores with a comparable mean and variance. Since this procedure was usually followed in the IQ tests used to test the students in our sample, it was possible to treat most of the IQ data obtained as representing a common dimension with a known dispersion. This was not true, however, for the Kuhlman-Anderson test which has a standard deviation ranging from 10 to 16 for different age levels.[9] Thus, its overall distribution of scores is somewhat less than those reported for most other IQ tests where a sigma of 16 is usually the case.

TABLE 5

Distribtuion of IQ Scores

IQ Scores	
Above 115	15%
106-115	21
96-105	28
86-95	21
Below 86	15
	100%
	(1067)[10]

It can be seen in Table 5 that the distribution of IQ scores is almost perfectly normal. The respondents were divided into the five IQ levels shown in this table.

---

[9] The primary source of information concerning IQ tests was Buros, O.K. (Ed.) The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook. The Gryphon Press, Highland Post, New Jersey, 1959. A supplementary source were the reviews from earlier editions of the Handbook.

[10] Note that 187 cases are not included in this distribution. Some school officials requested that the questionnaires be responded to anonymously. In such cases it was not possible to relate school record data to the appropriate respondent. In addition, an occasional record contained no IQ data.

Status Classification and Status Effects

It has been proposed, in the previous chapter, that youth acquire class-associated attitudes about work, occupation, play, self, and other aspects of the lifespace before entry into the job market. It was also proposed that such effects are consequences of social positions, social roles, and attributed and achieved statuses which provide the social definitions and meanings of experiences. In other words our causality model is a multivariate one. In this study, with our data, a multivariate analysis presents two problems. The first is due to the intercorrelations among the variables. We obtained the following correlations between them: IQ-Social Class, .30; IQ-Race, .38; and Race-Social Class, .34. These are all significant at beyond the .001 level. Being Catholic or not is significantly associated with all three of the above variables as is being Jew or not. Being Protestant, in our sample, is significantly associated only with race, not IQ or social class. Sex and grade, because of our sampling method, were not associated statistically with any of the other variables. The problem, then, is how to interpret dependent effects when they are associated with correlated variables. But we said there was also a second problem.

The second problem is one which precludes the use of certain methods for dealing with the first problem. This is the problem of intereaction effects which is an especially serious problem for us because we see the meanings of the experiences of these youth to be derived from the interaction of their social attributes.

Our solution will be to present and discuss the findings in terms of subgroups defined by position on a set of social dimensions. We plan a typology based on race, class and IQ, with the findings for boys and girls to be presented separately. An analysis based on this plan will avoid the problem of association among the variables and will permit the detection of interaction effects where they exist.

It will be noted that grade and religion were not mentioned as part of the typology. In the original conception of the study, the three grade levels, 8th, 10th, and 12th, were included to provide a broad age range and to enable us to do an analysis from which we might make observations concerning longitudinal changes over the high school years, from junior high to graduation. In the meantime we have retested, in their senior year, those who made up the 8th grade portion of our sample and so will base the longitudinal analysis on that data which will appear in a separate report.

One of the problems in setting up a typology such as ours is that any case unclassified on any one variable is therefore lost from the analysis. No cases were unclassified with respect to sex, a very few with respect to race, but several were unclassified on IQ and social class. As a result, the 1254 respondents are reduced to 906 in the analysis. Since we plan to consider the sexes separately, the three-variable classification result in quite modest N's for some subgroups. The addition of another variable would reduce the number in several groups such that they would have to be eliminated from the study. In addition, it will be recalled from the discussion earlier in the chapter that approximately 350 of the sample were unclassified on religion because of the request of some of the school administrators to omit the item from the questionnaire. It was decided, therefore, to not include the religion data in this report.

It will be discovered below that the size of some of the subgroups of our typology approaching the limit deemed adequate. As it is two groups of the eight which logically follow from all possible combinations of three dichotomized variables have numbers too small to be included in the analysis.

We feel the three attributes, social class, race, and IQ, have in common that they have implications concerning one's status within the school system. It is assumed that one's status positions on these dimensions are reacted to directly within the educational setting, i.e., that they are associated with differential rewards, privileges, recognition, rights, and expectations. Since these variables have in common this one very powerful social factor we feel that treating them collectively as we propose permits us to do an especially meaningful analysis.

All variables are dichotomized as follows: Social Class into middle and working class; IQ into above and below average; and race in terms of white and Negro. The social class coding makes use of both the classification of the father's occupation (i.e., professional, technical, etc.) and its prestige level based on the socioeconomic index discussed earlier in this chapter. In general, whole categories of occupations were placed in either the middle or working-class. However, such was not the case for three of the categories: where the higher or lower level jobs seemed not to belong at the same class level as the majority of the category. The middle class group includes the following occupations: all professional and technical; managers and proprietors with index scores 30 and above; clerical and sales jobs with index scores of 30 and above; and craftsmen and foremen with index scores of 60 and above. The working class include all operatives, service workers and laborers as well as the craftsmen and foreman jobs with index scores below 60, and all the low level managers and proprietors and low level clerical and sales jobs (i.e., those with index scores below 30.)

It is postulated that the strongest effects of status should be observed when the youth are compared who have a high status position or a low status position on all those dimensions. Those with incongruent status, i.e., high on some dimensions and low on another should usually show intermediate effects, but not always. In some instances they will show quite different types of effects.

We find the following distribution of our population:

	High Status on Race, Class, and IQ	Low Status on Race, Class and IQ	Incongruent Status Patterns	Total
Female	88	91	277	456
Male	102	61	287	450
	190	152	564	906

The various types of incongruent status patterns permit the comparison of the various incongruent patterns with the congruent high and congruent low status patterns. The incongruent status patterns available for comparison in this sample are summarized in the following tabulation:

	High Status Incongruents		Low Status Incongruents	
	With Low IQ	With Low Class	With High IQ	White
Female	22	122	35	84
Male	34	134	27	77
	56	256	62	161

The two other possible patterns, middle-class bright Negroes and low IQ middle-class Negroes, had very low frequencies resulting in subgroups too small for meaningful analysis.

In planning the comparative analysis which follows in this report it was assumed that the findings for the High Status Congruents (white, middle class, high IQ) and the Low Status Congruents (Negro, working class, low IQ) could be regarded as anchor points for analysing and interpreting the cognitions, values, and feelings of the youth falling into the several incongruent status classifications. It is assumed that Congruent High Status reflects greater relative social integration with feelings of belonging to and being part of the system, and that Congruent Low Status reflects relatively greater alienation. Typically in the school system they are defined as failures, and define themselves as failures.

A note is in order here concerning our use of the term incongruence. Within the context of the three variables making up the typology, so far as the larger social system is concerned, the term is reasonable with respect to common usage. However, our analysis is in terms of the educational setting, not the total society. Therefore, strictly speaking, all our respondents should have been drawn from classrooms which were biracial and the social class and IQ coding based on above and below average status for that classroom rather than based on the classification used. For example, a below average IQ white working-class boy in an all white school would be a Low Status Congruent for that setting, not a Low Status Incongruent as we shall classify him. This is an important point because it has implications for the kinds of inferences we might make from our findings. Our use of the term is for convenience to distinguish the subgroups from those with congruent patterns, high or low. No particular problem is posed so long as one keeps in mind that the incongruence label refers specifically to certain groups in the analysis with no implication that all three status dimensions are salient in the educational settings of all these youth.

However, the school is part of the larger social system and being white or Negro, middle or working class, bright or dull, have implications for one's cognitions, feelings, and behavior regardless of whether the school is biracial, middle or working class in nature, or with a preponderance of above or below average IQ students. It's true that the distribution of these attributes within one's educational setting has implications for how he interprets and feels about his own pattern of attributes. This, however, is a subject for another analysis. The purpose of our classification, as we said above, is to solve the problem of the possible confounding of effects of having intercorrelated independent variables and to permit the detection of interaction effects.

Significance Testing

Some of the data presented will be in the form of group means. In those cases, the F-Ratio value will be presented for that set of subgroup means. In general, however, the data will be presented in the form of percentages of subgroups making a particular response, having a particular characteristic, and so on. Although we shall be concerned more with some comparisons than others, there are several that are salient. For example, for a single set of percentages (e.g., those answering yes to whether they expect to go to college) we have a total of fifteen comparisons, all possible pairs of six groups of boys (i.e., Congruent High and Congruent Low Status and four incongruent groups), another fifteen for the girls, and at least six, but sometimes more for the between-sex comparisons. This is a minimum of thirty-six comparisons for such a single set of percentages. It would have been possible to provide a supplementary table with significance levels presented for all relevant comparisons but the mass of data to be presented precluded such a solution as unwieldly. Very often, differences are of such a magnitude that significance is apparent. However, for many comparisons, the amount of the difference or the size of the N's may cause uncertainty as to whether the difference might be interpreted as significantly different from chance. We have therefore presented, in Appendix H, tables which provide the approximate sampling errors of differences which can be expected five percent of the time for subgroups of different sizes and different magnitudes of percentages.

IQ As a Status Variable

Implicit in our use of IQ as a status variable is the assumption that one's gross IQ level is somehow public information in the educational setting, that it's generally clear whether one is bright or not. We know that IQ and school performance are highly correlated and that relative performance in school tends to be public information, the source, generally, of one's reputation as bright or not. We find a quite high relationship between our sample although IQ and index of school achievement for the manner in which achievement was measured understates the relationship. It was necessary, because of the varied nature of the achievement information to transform the data obtained into such a form that they were comparable from group to group. We therefore used percentile rank in the class. The IQ measure is based on the score on standardized IQ tests, the achievement score is based on one's relative achievement level within the classroom. Therefore, given a classroom of above average students, half must necessarily have achievement scores below average (i.e., percentile scores below the 50th). In spite of this shortcoming we find that over sixty percent of the high IQ groups (High Congruent Status and bright working-class white and Negro boys and girls) are in the top 40% of their class compared with about one-in-five of the below average IQ groups (Low Congruent Status and low IQ white middle- and working-class youth).

We've focused so far on the role of IQ in school achievement and it's certainly considerable. But in viewing IQ as a variable of broad social significance, we interpret IQ level to mean more than school performance. IQ level has significance as a personal resource as does class level and race. Doors are open or closed, some paths are possible, others not, depending on access to resources. The combination of one's positions on the IQ, social class, and race dimensions, because of a long history of experiences has implications, for example, for how one views himself in relation to others, for what he will dare, will aspire to, and for how he thinks about activities such as work and play. It is in this sense that we wish the IQ variable to be regarded, not merely as an indicator of potential to do school work.

Summary of Family Background Characteristics of Status Groups

One full illustration of the pattern of analysis to be used throughout this report will be presented. The family background factor explored is intactness of family (Tables 6 and 7) as it is associated with the status patterns, and with the sex of the teenager. The other findings about family background will be summarized briefly.

Intactness of Family

In Table 6 there is a comparison, for females and males separately, of the four columns headed "high" (meaning high status congruents), "HiIn" (meaning high status incongruents), "LoIn" (meaning low status incongruents), and "Low" (meaning low status congruents). From this table we see that the low status respondents, both male and female, report a larger proportion of broken families than the other three status groups. No other trend is apparent.

In Table 7 there is a more detailed comparison of the different types of status incongruences. Separately for male and female respondents the four columns present the data for "High Status Lo IQ" (meaning middle class, white but low IQ), "High Status Lo Cl" (meaning white, high IQ, but working class), "Low Status Hi Rc"

TABLE 6

Intactness of Family by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Both parents present in home	90%	95%	86%	72%	94%	86%	92%	79%
No father	8	2	12	13	6	9	3	5
No mother	2	1	1	7	0	4	4	10
One parent missing, but which was not determined	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Neither parent present	0	0	1	6	0	1	1	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(88)	(146)	(125)	(89)	(98)	(173)	(108)	(57)[a]

TABLE 7

Intactness of Family by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Both parents present in home	91%	95%	86%	91%	94%	85%	96%	80%
No father	5	2	12	9	3	10	0	12
No mother	0	2	1	0	3	4	4	4
One parent missing, but which was not determined	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neither parent present	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(22)	(120)	(82)	(34)	(34)	(133)	(74)	(25)

---

[a] The N's on which percentages or group means are based will be presented as shown in parentheses in all tables throughout the report.

(meaning working class, low IQ, but white), and "Low Status Hi IQ" (meaning working class, Negro, but high IQ). No major trends seem evident. It is perhaps of interest that those low status youths with high intellectual competence (if from broken homes) seem to come from "no father" homes rather than other types of broken families. Comparing the two tables we can note that 72% of the low status girls are in intact families, but 91% of the low status incongruent girls with high IQ's have both parents at home.

The other findings on family background factors associated with status patterns can be summarized briefly.

Lower status youth tend to come from larger families. White working class families tend to be larger than white middle class families, but smaller than Negro working class families. The data on ordinal position reflect the data on family size, i.e., more of the Congruent High Status youths are first bonus and more of the Congruent Low Status youths are "middle-bonus".

As might be expected Low Status Congruents tend to have younger parents than the High Status Congruents, especially younger mothers. The bright Negro working class youths report older parents than the Congruent Low Status youths.

Many more of the mothers of Low Status males are reported to be employed. More of the Bright Negro Working Class youths report non-working mothers than in the other low status groups.

Approximately half of the fathers of High Status Congruents (i.e., white, middle class, bright) went to college compared with a third of those of the Low IQ middle class boys and girls and fewer than one in ten of any of the other status groups.

Organization of the Analysis

The remaining units of this report focus on clusters of cognitive and attitudinal orientations of youth which are associated with the congruent and incongruent status patterns of social class, race, and intellectual competence.

We start, in Chapter 3, with an analysis of the teenagers' conceptions about and attitudes toward their father's occupational role.

In Chapter 4 the focus is first on the boys' and girls' desires and expectations about their own occupational future and social class identification. Then the analysis turns to the here and now of high school program choices and expectations about completing high school and also going to college.

Chapter 5 focuses on the more psychological aspects of school connections and alienation -- the attitudes toward teachers and the school. Then the analysis looks at behavior patterns in school as noted by the teacher.

Chapter 6 looks at the association between status patterns and perceptions and evaluations of the self, with emphasis on perceptions of competence and success.

Chapter 7, the final unit of analysis, focuses on the meaning of work and play, with emphasis on the reasons for liking and disliking different types of work.

Chapter 8 summarizes the study and formulates conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER III

MEANINGS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD FATHER'S WORK AND FATHER

"Who is father" and "what does father do" are closely related in the child's mind at an early age. Various studies have shown that father's importance and influence, in the mind of the child is related to perceptions of the importance of the father's job in the world of work. We start the analysis with the teenager's ratings of their fathers' jobs, and job related characteristics.

Ratings of Father's Job

Various characteristics of the father's job and job-related characteristics of the father were rated on a seven-point scale. For convenience of tabular presentation the distribution of responses for the total group was divided as close to the 50% point as possible. The percentages in the tables represent the proportion checking the range on the scale indicated for each row. (Tables 8 and 9).

In general, inasmuch as such things as steadiness of work, security, income, difficulty, etc., were being rated, it was expected that the differences would range from the High Status father's being seen as having more of good characteristics and more of the Low Status fathers' jobs being seen as having less (i.e., security, income, etc.). However, such was not the case. For only two of nineteen scales were the ratings so linear. These were the ratings of whether few or most persons could do the job and whether the father worried or did not worry over his job. The remaining scales were divided between those for which the status groups were similar except that either the Highs

TABLE 8
Cognitions and Feelings About Father's Job by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Characteristics of the Job								
Steady (7) - not steady work	79%	73%	74%	69%	79%	65%	70%	73%
Much (6-7) - little security	68	57	58	54	65	51	54	51
High (6-7) - low income	48	37	40	41	60	32	38	46
Much (5-7) - little opportunity	64	47	47	54	67	52	38	52
Few (5-7) - most could do job	70	47	44	36	71	47	49	39
Much (5-7) - little education required	67	33	31	39	75	40	39	61
Plans (4-7) - follows plans of others	59	47	45	45	57	49	53	45
Much (4-7) - little leisure time	36	36	46	53	45	39	44	62
Mental (4-7) - physical labor	74	33	36	28	80	35	34	38
Characteristics of the Father								
Job does (7) - doesn't suit him	56	50	51	47	49	36	32	39
Talks much (6-7) - little about job	57	51	49	48	43	36	40	45
Does (5-7) - doesn't worry about job	58	42	33	28	51	44	40	36
Does (7) - doesn't like people at work	54	51	52	60	40	41	38	54
Does (6-7) doesn't like his boss	49	44	54	58	51	46	45	53
Does (6-7) doesn't like job	69	53	54	62	63	45	41	51
Attitudes of Respondent								
Job interesting (6-7) - boring	70	57	60	71	68	41	59	68
A good (7) - poor job	69	58	48	59	62	31	38	46
Knows much (6-7) - little about his job	46	42	36	40	47	41	41	55
Would (4-7) - would not like such a job	68	51	54	51	72	57	65	70
	(83)[a]	(144)	(124)	(84)	(92)	(166)	(110)	(56)

[a] The N's varied slightly from scale to scale, but were within ±3 of the listed N.

or Lows deviated from the rest and those for which the results tended toward a U-function, with the incongruents status groups tending to be different from the High and the Lows which were more similar to each other in comparison with the incongruence groups. For example, more of the Highs and Lows, in contrast to the incongruent status groups rated the father's job to have high income, much opportunity, much education required, father likes the boss, he likes the job, interesting job, a good job, father talks a lot about the job and respondent knows much about the job, and would like such a job (Table 8). About an equal proportion of each group rated the job as interesting and that they knew a lot about the job. More of the Lows than Highs (about 57% to 47% rated the father highest on liking his boss. For the rest, mentioned above, the proportion was greater for the Highs. In these cases, the incongruent status levels were characterized by the smallest proportions of position characterizations of the father's job.

What can we make of this? We know that for the Lows, the father's job brings in lower income, that there is less opportunity, and that little education is required. If we assume that the responses of the Lows are not due to fantasy or to some other factor which would render their reports unreliable, then we have an interesting interpretation of the results. It seems likely that what we have here is a case of those with Congruent statuses (either high or low) perceiving more congruence in their environments. The jobs of their fathers appear appropriate, right, good. And it's likely the father's tend to feel the same way. They too have Congruent statuses. It is likely, from the Lows point of view, having almost any kind of halfway decent job is seen as having "arrived".

TABLE 9
Cognitions and Feelings About Father's Job by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Characteristics of the Job								
Steady (7) - not steady work	77%	71%	73%	83%	73%	64%	71%	59%
Much (6-7) - little security	64	56	54	67	64	48	53	52
High (6-7) - low income	59	33	35	44	46	28	39	33
Much (5-7) - little opportunity	59	42	42	56	54	50	27	59
Few (5-7) - most could do job	41	47	41	50	61	44	44	56
Much (5-7) - little education required	57	29	29	29	61	34	38	37
Plans (4-7) - follows plans of others	54	45	40	47	70	44	52	52
Much (4-7) - little leisure time	41	34	43	47	39	39	43	48
Mental (4-7) - physical labor	45	30	42	18	55	29	33	30
Characteristics of the Father								
Job does (7) - doesn't suit him	59	48	49	50	46	32	31	27
Talks much (6-7) - little about job	41	52	42	68	33	36	40	37
Does (5-7) - doesn't worry about job	59	40	36	21	48	41	44	27
Does (7) - doesn't like people at work	54	51	47	74	46	41	37	37
Does (6-7) - doesn't like his boss	43	44	50	68	45	46	39	52
Does (6-7) - doesn't like job	68	49	46	74	46	44	35	52
Attitudes of Respondent								
Job interesting (6-7) - boring	73	53	53	74	54	38	57	59
A good (7) - poor job	77	55	43	56	58	24	35	33
Knows much (6-7) - little about his job	45	40	28	53	52	39	42	26
Would (4-7) - would not like such a job	82	45	51	53	64	56	62	67
	(21)[a]	(120)	(80)	(34)	(32)	(128)	(76)	(26)

[a] The N's varied slightly from scale to scale, but were within ±1 of the listed N.

Code for Column Headings:

	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
IQ	Low	High	Low	High
Class	MC	WC	WC	WC
Race	White	White	White	Negro

The Highs differed from the three lower status groups in the proportion who rated their father's job as steady work, with much security, involved planning more than following the plans of others, mental rather than physical labor, and a job that "suited" the father. The Lows differed from the rest on two scales: amount of leisure time (lots) and liking people at work (father does).

In the comparison of the Dull MC[a] Group with the Highs, an interesting pattern is apparent (Table 9). The incongruent group rates the father's job as being somewhat less steady, with less security, and with less opportunity. They feel many more people could do the job, that less education is required, and many more rate the job as more physical than mental labor. However, they still rate the job a good job and an interesting job and that they would like such a job. In other words, when the characteristics of the job were checked, the Dull MC youth tended to rate their father's job as slightly less desirable but when their own attitude was involved, they were as positive as the Highs. Fewer Dull MC indicate that the father likes his boss and fewer indicate that he likes the job and finally, fewer indicate that the father talks much about the job at home. In spite of seeing the father as not fully liking his job, these youth tend to endorse it and "would like such a job" even though they do not see father as especially liking the job.

The Dull MC youth differ clearly from the Bright WC[b] groups. The latter see their father's job as somewhat less steady work, involving somewhat less security, and especially low income. They see it as involving less opportunity, as being much characterized by following

[a] MC stands for middle class.

[b] WC stands for working class.

plans than making plans, and as being more physical than mental labor. They especially note the little education required and the low income. In these respects, they rate their father's job lower than any other incongruent group. (The same was true with respect to the amount of education required).

The same trends are observable with respect to characteristics of the father; fewer of the Bright WC groups see the job "suiting him," fewer says he worries about the job, fewer say he likes the people at work and fewer rate him as liking his job. More rate the father as talking much about his job.

Now, with this picture of criticalness concerning the father's job, what do these youth personally think about it? Fewer think it is interesting, or a good job, or that they know much about it or that they would like such a job.

In general, the incongruent Negro females (i.e., bright, lower class Negro girls) rated their fathers' jobs more positively than the other low status incongruent females (i.e., dull working-class white), and in some instances, more positively than other groups. They see his job as steady, with security, income o.k., with much opportunity, involving planning and much leisure time. They also feel that few could do the job. They do not differ from the Dull MC females in perceiving father's job as more physical than mental work.

The bright working class Negro boys do not see their fathers' jobs in quite as positive a light as the girls. They see the work as less steady and with lower income than do the low status congruent boys. However, they do feel the job has opportunity for advancement and that few could do it. Otherwise these perceptions are similar to the low status boys.

More of the Low status bright Negro (girls) than any other group feel their father talks much about his job and few of them feels he worries about his job. More of them also rate father as liking his boss and the people at work and liking his job. The bright Negro boys are similar to the girls in that more of them than the Dull working-class males feel he likes his boss and likes his job. Fewest of bright Negro youths (boys and girls) feel their father worries about his job.

More of the bright Negro girls than any other group feel they know a lot about father's job and more rate the job as interesting, and see the job as a good job. In sharp contrast, fewer bright Negro boys than any other group claim they know much about their father's job.

This relatively positive picture of the father's occupational role by the bright Negro girl is underlined again when we compare the attitudes of these girls with the Low Status Congruents. More of the bright Negro girls see the job to be steady, to have security, to be such that few could do it, and report father talks a lot about his job, likes it and his boss.

Again, this relatively positive pattern is not apparent in the perceptions of the bright Negro boys. They do not see father's job as steady work, and fewer rate the income as high, or feel there is much leisure time or that much mental labor is involved. In characterizing the father, fewer bright Negro boys than low status congruent boys feel the job suits father or that he talks much about the job. They feel he worries about the job and does not like the people at work. Fewer rate the job as interesting or as a good job.

From their data we interpret that the bright Negro boy tends to reject his father as a role model and that the Low Status Congruent boys do not reject him, but actually accept him more, in many respects than many from the other incongruent groups. On the other hand, and most surprising, we obtain opposite reactions from the two groups of Negro girls, the bright Negro working-class girls see their father about as positive even as the High Status Congruents. More rate the father as liking the boss and other people at work and more say he talks much about the job and that they know a lot about it. Somewhat more rate the father as liking the job and more feel it is an interesting job. These girls rate their father's job about as positively as do the High State Incongruent middle-class girls and much more positively than to the other two incongruent status groups of girls.

The two working-class incongruent groups of females rate their father's job the most poorly. Among the males, the bright incongruent youth (Negro and white) tend to see their father's job in the poorest light while the congruent status youth, high and low, see the job and father in the most positive light. So congruent status of boys seems to be associated with positive acceptance and evaluation of father's job and incongruity of status seems to be related to more negative evaluations, particularly by the brighter youth. But the working-class girls with incongruent status who are most rejecting of their father while both the incongruent middle-class and Negro girls are very accepting and supportive in their perceptions and evaluations of their fathers' occupational role.

"My Father's Job" as Attitude Object

One of the concepts rated by the Semantic Differential test was "My Father's Job." We shall find that the meaning of this concept supplements much of findings discussed earlier in this Chapter (See Tables 10 and 11). Compared with the other concepts included as the objects for ratings, "My Father's Job" was one of those with the lowest Evaluative factor score. The Evaluative factor scores for the concepts "Work", "The Past" and "School teacher" were comparable. Average Evaluative factor scores were given such concepts as "Occupation", "The Present", "School", and "Father". Very High scores were given the concepts "Mother" and "To Be Liked". The scores for these other concepts are mentioned here to provide a perspective for interpreting the Evaluative factor score for "My Father's Job." The Difficulty factor score for father's job was the highest of all concepts. Somewhat lower were such concepts as "Work", "School", "The Future", and "Achievement". Finally, the concepts "Father" and "My Father's Job" were by far the most vigorous (strong, masculine, fast) of all other concepts. Such concepts as "Competence", "Work", and "Influence" were a distant second. So, in comparison with other concepts, father's job is seen as very tough and very vigorous but somewhat negative in meaning. With the above facts as background, we are ready to review the data in Tables 10 and 11.

From Table 10 we see that the High Status Congruent teenagers rate their father's job more positively than do the other groups. The Congruent Low Status groups were next most positive. The High and Low Status Incongruent groups rated it the lowest. The girls of every

TABLE 10
The Meaning of Father's Job by Sex and Status

	Female				Male				
Factors	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	F-Ratio
Evaluative	50	47	47	48	49	43	43	47	6.9
Difficulty	57	58	57	56	57	57	57	53	2.6
Vigor	58	60	59	61	57	59	59	58	1.3
	(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 11
The Meaning of Father's Job by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		
Factors	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	F-Ratio
Evaluative	52	46	46	48	46	43	42	44	6.7
Difficulty	55	59	57	58	56	58	59	55	3.1
Vigor	59	60	58	63	56	60	60	56	2.6
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

status level rated their father's job more positively than the boys.

When we turn to the comparison of the incongruent groups (Table 11), we observe confirmation of the previously discussed evaluative differences in the ratings of father's job. For the girls, the low IQ middle-class white girls evaluate the father's job the highest, followed by the High Congruent Status girls, then the Bright Negro girls and Low Congruent Status girls, and lowest were the Bright working-class and low IQ working-class girls. For the boys the High Congruent Status boy were most positive, the Low Congruent Status group second, followed closely by the low IQ middle-class, then the bright Negro boys, and the low IQ white working-class boys. These two orders agree almost exactly with the order based on the proportions rating their father's job as interesting, as a good job, and as one they would like to have.

The Low Status boys and girls see their father's job to be less tough (though still not easy) than do the other three status levels. The bright working-class Negro girls see the father's job as the most tough or different while the low IQ middle-class girls and the Low Congruent Status girls rate father's job as least difficult. For the boy, however, the bright Negroes tend toward the Low Status and with the low IQ middle-class boys in viewing the father's job as less difficult. The working-class youth, bright and dull, rate the job as most difficult. For both sexes, the High Congruent Status groups' ratings fall intermediate in perception of the toughness of father's job.

The High Congruent Status boys see their father's job as less vigorous than do the other three status levels (but still quite vigorous -- the mean vigor scores for all concepts is around fifty).

TABLE 12
Description of Father's Job by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
TTRIBUTES OF THE FATHER								
kill. He's good at it, best in hop, knows what he's doing.	15%	11%	11%	6%	4%	9%	8%	22%
ocial. Likes to help people, oesn't like people.	5	8	2	0	9	0	8	11
ther Attributes. In good health, oesn't "brown nose," drinks.	8	16	8	12	6	6	6	11
VALUATION OF JOB								
mportant. A white collar job, e's the boss, he's the owner.	51	35	26	12	55	44	33	22
ritical. Keeps plant going, ouldn't operate without him.	3	10	13	0	11	16	3	0
ather's Attitude. Is proud, ates it, enjoys it, is contented.	8	8	13	6	6	5	6	22
ON-INTRINSIC JOB CHARACTERISTICS								
ringe Characteristics. Plant is irty, a nice office, nine-to-four.	15	36	45	44	34	30	39	44
onsequences. Makes things look ew, beautifies, nicer place to live.	10	8	2	12	4	11	8	22
raining Requirements. Have to be n apprentice, need no education.	8	0	2	12	4	5	6	0
	** (39)	** (63)	** (47)	** (16)	** (53)	** (64)	** (36)	** (9)

The bright Negro girls see their father's job as most vigorous (63) with the Low Status girls next (61). The low IQ working-class and the High Status girls, rate the job as least vigorous.

In contrast, the two working-class white groups of boys view their father's job as more vigorous (60) than others and the other two incongruent groups, the low IQ middle-class boys and bright Negro boys see their father's job as least vigorous (56).

These two meaning dimensions, Vigor and Difficulty can be considered together as a sort of index of dynamism. If we combine them and compare the resultant scores with the Evaluative scores, we observe an interesting clustering of groups. The bright incongruent girls rate their father's job as very dynamic and moderately positively, compared with the others. Moderately positive also but with the lowest dynamic scores are three groups of males, Low Status Congruents, bright Negroes, and Low IQ middle-class. The two working-class male groups rate the job as dynamic but negative. The two High Congruent Status groups (boys and girls) and the low IQ middle-class girls see their father's job in the most positive terms and as moderately dynamic. There is somewhat of an association between these two dimensions. There are no groups who see their father's job as both very positive and very dynamic, or as both very negative and relatively low in vigor and difficulty.

Description of Father's Job

The respondents were asked to describe their father's job in some detail. The purpose of this item was primarily to aid in the coding of the occupation because often the mere title of a job provides insufficient information for adequate coding. It was noted,

TABLE 13
Some Things Particularly Liked About Father's Job by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
come. The pay, money, salary, at he makes, bonuses, profits.	17%	26%	35%	34%	30%	44%	37%	38%
ther's Welfare. It's healthy, meets ce people, a nice place to work.	20	23	15	17	21	17	23	5
ther's Interest. It's what he likes, at he wants; he likes it, enjoys it.	17	17	20	20	17	16	11	14
ild's Interest. It interests me, I'm oud of him, opportunities for me.	38	15	12	23	36	16	11	19
utral Comments. No clear indication what is liked or why, e.g., he travels.	9	14	16	17	10	10	13	33
od Hours. Hours regular, weekends ee, gets home early, home for dinner.	14	6	15	9	7	16	14	10
estige. Gives orders, is looked to, is recognized, a supervisor.	17	9	9	3	19	15	10	5
t Stressful. Job is easy, not ngerous, it's no strain, no exertion.	4	5	9	11	6	15	16	10
cilitates Being with Father. Can end lots of time with family.	14	14	10	9	3	5	3	0
condary Material Gains. Company car, ee lunch, discounts, free samples.	7	14	9	14	4	1	8	0
curity. Steady work, no strikes, nsion plan, will always need him.	6	8	2	0	7	7	2	5
cilitates NOT Being with Father. ieter and better when he's at work.	1	6	5	0	1	0	2	5
	** (69)	** (109)	** (81)	** (35)	** (89)	** (122)	** (62)	** (21)

however, that many respondents went beyond what was requested and touched upon attributes of the father, made evaluative comments about the job, and went into non-intrinsic characteristics of the job. Their responses were, therefore, coded. However, there were many who merely provided the title of the job (e.g., doctor, lawyer, machinist, etc.) and added nothing more. This, of course, substantially reduced the N so it will be difficult to make too much of the data. However, it is of interest to note several trends for this smaller sample, in Table 12.

Over 50% of the High Status Congruent teenagers said something about the prestige of their father's job as compared with approximately one-in-six of the Low Status Congruent group. The most frequent description mentioned by the Low Status Congruents was some fringe characteristic of the job, (44% compared with about one-in-four of the Highs). The literature would lead us to expect this tendency for the lower status groups to focus on fringe or non-intrinsic features of jobs. If we examine the response totals for the three sets of categories, we find status strongly associated with making evaluative descriptive statements and inversely associated with non-intrinsic descriptive statements.

Liked Features of Father's Job

After describing the father's job, the respondents were asked to name two things they particularly liked about the job and then two things they particularly disliked. We will consider first what they like (Table 13).

Income was the most frequently mentioned liked feature but it was only mentioned by about a third of the respondents, more often

TABLE 14
Some Things Particularly Disliked About Father's Job by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
ob Conditions. Dangerous, long ours, dirty place, changes shifts.	38%	63%	65%	70%	53%	60%	66%	72%
atigue. Tiring, exhausting, ork very hard.	15	17	16	3	10	19	15	11
imited Time. Away on trips, works eekends, out in evening.	41	14	21	13	19	9	8	0
ncome. Poor salary, low pay, oesn't make enough.	4	9	10	7	6	10	11	6
ather's Disinterest. He doesn't ike it, no appeal, boring.	4	4	8	3	12	11	6	6
tressful. Too much responsibility, angerous, mentally strenuous.	20	4	5	0	15	13	6	6
hild's Disinterest. Doesn't ike it, wouldn't do it.	11	4	8	17	10	8	11	6
amily Tension. Makes him a rouch, tense, disagreeable.	9	9	9	0	4	2	4	0
amily Frustrations. Can't do hings when he's away, ruins car.	4	11	6	0	1	3	0	0
restige. Not an important job, ot in an office, can't get ahead.	3	7	4	7	1	5	2	0
ocial Conditions. Some of the men re bums, unpleasant people.	4	4	1	3	8	3	6	0
ecurity. Gets laid off, strikes, oesn't work regularly, no pension.	3	6	1	10	4	2	2	0
	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
	(66)	(105)	(77)	(30)	(72)	(125)	(53)	(18)

by males than females and inversely associated with status. Generally positively associated with status were the following: references to Father's Welfare, the prestige of the job, and security of the job. Girls, much more than boys, mention liking the fact that father has time to spend with the family, but more girls, in the incongruent status categories also mentioned that they liked the job keeping the father away from home ("it's quieter when the old grouch isn't around").

Low status teenagers tended to use neutral non-evaluative comments and also to talk about the job as an easy one not demanding too much. These latter comments were more frequently made by boys. Perhaps they were seeing an important aspect of a job as "easy to get by" without much risk of too much competence demand.

One interesting and relatively frequent (about 22% of all respondents) type of reason given for liking the father's job was that it was something which interested the respondent. Taking the sexes together, we find more of the High Status Congruents than any other group gave such a reason (about 37%). However, fewer of the High Status Incongruents (16%) and Low Status Incongruents (12%) gave such a reason than did Congruent Lows (21%). It will be recalled that this was roughly the pattern of response when the youth were asked to rate the degree to which they would like such a job as their father's.

The low frequencies make the more detailed comparison of the incongruence patterns inappropriate.

Disliked Features of Father's Job

Job conditions of one sort or another (dangerous, long hours,

TABLE 15
Reasons for a New Occupation for Father by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Father's Interest. What he wanted, would be happiest doing, stimulating.	44%	30%	28%	32%	18%	22%	6%	40%
Income. More pay, good salary, bring home more money.	13	23	25	11	21	30	30	20
Child's Reward. So he could help me, I could meet people.	15	12	8	11	20	14	18	20
Model. He could then teach me, I could follow him, it's what I want.	6	7	7	0	26	18	14	0
Father's Ability. He's qualified for it, he would fit, he's smart.	17	11	7	7	12	9	14	10
Child Likes It. I've always thought highly of it.	9	14	18	7	8	5	8	20
Low Stress. Easier work, less strain, no pressure, less dangerous.	2	12	12	11	8	12	12	0
Status. He would be successful, important, in charge of others.	6	11	7	7	8	8	6	20
Job Conditions. Good hours, more time off, meet nice people.	9	10	12	7	11	10	8	0
Security. The work would be steadier, free of strikes.	4	2	0	11	6	3	2	0
Freedom from Authority. Would be independent, his own boss.	4	3	0	0	6	1	2	0
Family Satisfactions. Could travel, get things on credit, have fun.	2	6	5	4	2	2	0	0
Facilitate Being with Father. See him more, more time with children.	0	2	0	4	3	4	4	0
Other.	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	** (54)	** (94)	** (61)	** (28)	** (66)	** (106)	** (50)	** (10)

dirty, etc.) were mentioned much more frequently (Table 14) than anything else disliked about the father's job (about six-in-ten). As we would expect, more of the Low Status Congruents (about 70%) than the Highs (about 45%) mentioned negative job conditions.

Many more of the High Status youths, especially girls, disliked the fact that the job kept the father away from home. This was not important for low status respondents. More of the High Status Congruents than Lows disliked stressful aspects of the father's job, with emphasis on too much responsibility. More of the male Highs were concerned about the father's lack of interest in his job.

More of the Status Incongruent teenagers noted such disliked features of the job as how exhausting it was, and the low income. It will be recalled that fewer of the Incongruent groups rated their father's job as being characterized by good income. This continues to reveal the theme of discontent of those with status incongruences.

Reason for New Occupation for Father

The respondents were asked: "If your father had some occupation other than the one he does, what would you like it to be? Why?" Since many of the teenagers liked their father in the occupation he had, the N for the reasons was substantially reduced. Therefore, we shall examine (in Table 15) only the status differences for what they suggest about the attitude of these youth toward their father and his job. More of the girls, and especially the High Congruent Status girls, apparently see their father doing things he's not especially interested in and therefore pick something more suited. Whether this perceived apparent lack of interest in the current job by the father is real or whether this response of the daughter is due to romantic fantasies concerning the father can't be determined. However, it will be recalled that the fathers apparently talked more about their job with their daughters than their sons. The daughter, therefore, may be somewhat more aware of dissatisfactions and other job fantasies of the father. However it will also be recalled that more of the daughters than sons did see the current job as "suiting" the father. These facts may not be so contradictory as they may appear. One can regard father's occupation as "suiting" him in the sense that he is playing the occupational role successfully or has achieved status while at the same time being aware of (or fantasizing) other preferred roles. More of the High Status than low status girls also gave as a reason for change their father's ability -- again a "best fit" type of reason.

It has generally been interpreted that the fathers in the lower classes, due to their unstable and marginal role in the economy and therefore in the family, are inadequate role models for their sons (and perhaps daughters?). We find, however, a direct relationship between status level and boy's sensitivity to role model orientations to the father's role. The kinds of responses of the sons coded into this category were: "could teach me about it," "it's what I want to do," "I would like to take after him," "I would want to follow him." One in four of the High status group made such a response compared with none in the Low status group. Such a finding emphasizes the lack of father's role model relevance for the lower status sons.

More teenager with incongruent status, both boys and girls, gave higher income as a reason for father to change his job. This is consistent with the already observed tendency for the congruent youth to be somewhat more satisfied and the Incongruent youth to be more dissatisfied with the family income and life situation.

SUMMARY

Some interesting themes, some expected, some unexpected, have emerged from our consideration of the data on attitudes and cognitions about father's job. Some general observations will be made, then the findings for each subgroup in the analysis will be reviewed separately, and finally, we shall summarize the trends which seem apparent.

We shall be making statements about how positive or negative is the assessment of the father's job by different groups. It should be kept in mind that these are relative comparisons. Overall, for instance, a majority of these teenagers rate the job as a good job (6 or 7 on a 7-point scale).

In general, more girls saw their father's job to be steady work and a secure job. More saw the job as "suiting" their father, more say he liked the people and the job. More indicate that father talked about his job and more said it was an interesting and a good job. More of the boys tended to rate higher job characteristics such as the skill and education required, the planning involved, the relative amount of mental labor involved, and the amount of leisure time. Overall, the girls appeared to be somewhat more generous than the boys.

It was noted during the discussion in this chapter that whether these youth are rating their father's job on various characteristics, or rating it as an object, or describing it, that certain patterns among the groups were apparent. In general, we can order our group of boys and girls in terms of how positive or negative they seemed to be concerning the job and father. Among the six groups of girls we get roughly the following order and clustering from the most to the least positive:

High Congruent Status
Low IQ middle class and bright Negro girls
Low Congruent Status
White working class, high and low IQ

The comparable order and clustering for the boys was:

High Congruent Status
Low Congruent Status and Low IQ middle class
Bright Negro
Low IQ working class
Bright working class

We'll consider in some detail what distinctive things we have observed about each of these categories of boys and girls. It will have been noted that in both the above lists, the High Status Congruent boys and girls were listed first. We shall begin, then, with them.

High Congruent Status

Both the boys and girls were the most positive in their attitudes and descriptions of father's job. Overall, they were about equally positive. However, they boys, compared with the other male groups, are relatively more positive than was true of the High Congruent Status girls when compared with the other groups of girls.

These boys and girls see their father's job to be steady, with security, good opportunity, one that relatively few could do, that requires much education, and that involves mental rather than physical labor. These are among the characteristics of father's job more emphasized by these boys and girls than the other teenagers. They described the job as important, said things which implied being pleased with the job and proud of their father. They disliked the fact that the work often kept their father away from home and that the job responsibilities were often stressful.

More of these boys and girls felt the job "suited" their father, said that he talked about his job, that he worried a lot about it, and that he liked it. More said they thought it was a good job. More of this group of boys than the other groups thought the job was interesting and one they personally would like also. More offer as a reason for a new job for father ideas that suggest a greater identification of son with father.

Overall, we have a picture, relatively more extreme for the boys, of a positive identification with the father and his job.

Low Congruent Status

These boys, low IQ, working-class Negroes, are relatively positive in their characterization of their father and his job. They, along with the low IQ middle-class white boys are second only to the High Congruent Status boys, but a distant second. The girls are only somewhat less positive but are farther down in the evaluative ranking of the girls' groups.

Some of the differences between these boys and girls may be due to the boys being somewhat more sophisticated about their father's job. More of them see the job to require skill and to involve mental work, and more feel the father worries about his job. More claim to know a lot about the job and more would like such a job.

On the more purely attitudinal items, more of the girls indicate that the job "suits" the father, that he likes it and that it is a good job.

When considering the meaning of the father's job as an object, both see it as moderately positive but, while the girls also see it as having less vigor or difficulty.

More of these boys and girls describe their father's job in terms of non-intrinsic job characteristics. Fewer make evaluative descriptive statements (i.e., important, critical, etc.). More, when describing disliked features, again emphasize the non-intrinsic features such as job conditions.

The fathers of these boys and girls have the poorest jobs in the economic system. Why, then, are their attitudes and congitions not more negative? It would seem that given congruence of statuses that a certain naturalness is experienced about the way things are. That is, fewer disparities are seen and experienced as painful. One's level of aspiration is such that it is seen to be likely attained. We shall reconsider this point in later chapters.

Bright Negro Boys and Girls

The greatest sex difference within any group and between the two evaluative orders was found with respect to this group. The girls were generally quite positive about their father while the boys tended to be quite negative. Also, these girls seem considerably more accepting and supportive of their father and his job than are the low IQ Negro girls (Low Congruent Status) while the boys, in contrast to the low IQ boys, are very much more critical.

More of these girls than the bright Negro boys rated the job as steady work and as characterized by security. More of the daughters thought the job "suited" the father, said that he talked a lot about his job, and that he liked the people, the boss, and the job. More rated the job as interesting, a good job, and more said they know a lot about it.

The girls see the job more positively and as more vigorous (masculine and strong) and as more difficult (tough-going, frightening). A few more of the boys rated higher most of the job characteristics _not_ mentioned about, but the differences were not generally great. However, many fewer boys rated their father highly on those scales having more to do with characteristics of the father or the attitude of the child toward the job.

More of the bright Negro girls than the low IQ Negro girls see the job to be characterized by steady work and security, and to be the type that few could do. More say their father talks about the job and that they know a lot about it. More see father as liking the people, the boss, and the job.

Fewer of the bright than the low IQ Negro boys describe the job as steady work, has involving high pay and that requires much education. Fewer say their father talks about the job, and fewer say he likes the people at work. Fewer say they know much aobut the job or that it is a good job.

The bright Negro boys seem more critical and seem more alienated from their father (note the lower proportions who indicate that father talks about the job and the lower number who say they know much about it). It would seem that these boys have rejected the father as a role model (compared with the lower IQ Negro boys). This would seem to be reasonable considering the mobility potential of these brighter youth. However, it is not so clear why the bright girls seem to feel so much more positive about their father. It's likely that a less economically successful father is experienced as less of a disappointment by girls than by boys. For the girls, other attributes of the father are probably more salient.

Low IQ White middle-class

The low IQ white middle-class youth also differ from each other. The girls were, overall, much more positive, generally second only the High Congruent Status girls. More of these girls than boys rated the income as high, felt that the job "suited" their father, and said that father worried about the job. More rated father as liking the job, and more say it as an interesting and a good job. More of these girls said they would like such a job, the only instance where, within a group, more girls than boys did so. More of the boys say that few could do the job, that much planning was involved, and that mental labor was involved.

Many fewer of these boys and girls than the High Congruent Status boys and girls rated their father's job as one that few could do, that required much education, or that involved much planning. Fewer said their father talked much about his job. Fewer of the boys saw much opportunity existing, thought their father liked the job, or said that it was an interesting job.

On considering the father's job as an object, these girls were nearer the High Congruent Status boys and girls in rating the job positively and in seeing the job as moderately vigorous. The boys saw it as both less positive and as somewhat less vigorous.

White Working-Class boys and girls

We have remaining to summarize the two white working-class groups which we can consider together because they expressed similar attitudes about the father's job. These youth were the least positive of all in their ratings of their father's job. The bright and low IQ working-class girls differed little from each other in their characterization of their father's job or their father. Somewhat more of the bright daughters said the father talked about the job and that they know a lot about it and that it was an interesting job.

Likewise, there were few differences between the bright and low IQ boys. Fewer of the bright youth described the job as interesting or as a good job. Of the four incongruent, white working-class groups, the bright boys were, on the whole, the most critical.

The working-class girls rated their father's job moderately positively as an object while these boys had the lowest evaluation scores.

Some Conclusions

Overall, we can make some tentative general statements based on what we have summarized above. One factor influencing the perception of and evaluation of father's job appears to be congruent status. Congruence appears to create fewer disparities between who and what one is and what is possible.

A second factor is status level. The higher status youth have fathers with better jobs which appear to result in the child being pleased with the job and proud of his father. They seem clearly to identify with him. High status youth see more good things about the job, features intrinsic to the occupation, while the lower status youth are more oriented to non-intrinsic feature of the father's job.

A third factor is sex. The boys tend to focus more on characteristics of the job while females respond more to characteristics of the father. The boys tend to see the father and the job as an integral whole while the females respond more directly to the father, with the job and its characteristics more peripheral. It is largely the females, for instance, who view job requirements which take up the father's time and cuts down the time spent at home as a disliked feature of the job.

And a fourth factor, for incongruent status boys, appears to be intelligence. The brighter youth, very likely because of their mobility potential and the fact that this results in their father being a less ideal role model, appear more than other boys and more than the bright incongruent girls, to be quite critical.

CHAPTER IV

ASPIRATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE AND THE EDUCATIONAL PATHWAY

Probably one of the core effects of the status situation, as defined by race, social class, and intellectual ability, is the orientation to the opportunity situation of public school education and the relevance of certain types of aspirations about the future. We will start with an examination of images of the future and then turn to orientations to schooling.

Derived and Expected Occupation

The respondents were asked "If you could be anything at all, what would you most like to do for a living?" (See Table 16). This question preceeded one asking what they expected most probably to be doing ten years after high school (See Table 17). Professional level occupations were, of course most desired by both males (seven-in-ten) and females (slightly over five-in-ten). See Table 16). Somewhat fewer expect such occupations (one-in-two males and one-in-three females).

The proportion desiring a professional level occupation varied with status level for girls (from 39% of the Low Status girls to 64% of the High Status girls). This difference was mostly due to the high proportion of High Status girls choosing teaching and social work as desired occupations (30%). Sales and clerical occupations tended to be more often picked by the other status levels (one-in-four of the incongruent status groups and one-in-three of the Low

TABLE 16
Desired Occupation Ten Years After High School by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Professional and Technical	(64%)	(53%)	(50%)	(39%)	(78%)	(73%)	(61%)	(68%)
Doctor, Dentist, Nurse	18%	19%	24%	19%	11%	10%	12%	3%
Education & Welfare	30	16	9	10	9	5	9	14
Engineering	1	0	0	0	19	15	11	14
Law	2	1	2	1	14	6	0	8
Natural Science	0	3	1	0	5	6	6	3
Arts & Entertainment	7	6	5	1	5	10	4	6
Athlete	1	0	0	1	10	12	8	8
All other Professional & Technical	5	8	9	7	5	9	11	12
Others								
Manager & Proprietors	2	4	2	0	6	9	8	6
Sales & Clerical	7	25	25	34	0	1	3	0
Craftsman & Operative	2	2	2	4	3	7	12	11
Service Worker	16	12	17	16	1	2	2	3
Armed Services	0	1	2	0	7	4	1	9
Housewife	4	2	0	3	0	0	0	0
Others	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3
Don't Know	4	1	2	4	4	3	10	0
	100% (84)	100% (145)	100% (119)	100% (74)	100% (93)	100% (156)	100% (95)	100% (35)

Status girls). Nursing (and medicine) appeared about equally popular with all status levels (about two-in-ten).

Somewhat over half the High Status girls expect (See Table 17) a professional level occupation ten years after high school compared with between a quarter and a third of the other status level girls. Again this difference is partly due to the high proportion choosing education or social work (over one-in-four compared with about a third as many of the others). Inversely associated with status level are clerical and sales occupations (from 8% of the High Status girls to 21% of the Low Status girls) and service occupations (from 2% to 13%). The proportion answering "don't know" increased also from High Status (7%) to Low Status (13%). About three-in-ten of all girls expected to be housewives after ten years (Table 17) in contrast to very few mentioning it as a desired occupation (2%). The proportion would no doubt have been higher if the question had more clearly included the possibility of housewife as an answer.

Slightly more of the High Status and High Status Incongruent males desire professional level occupations, although it is high for all groups. No occupations stand out for the boys as they did for the girls. More of the High Status boys desire engineering (19%) and Law (14%). Fewer of the Low Status Congruents desire a medical occupation (only 3% compared with about 11% of the rest) but more mentioned teaching (14% to about 7% of the rest). More of the High Status Incongruent group desire something in the area of arts and entertainment (10% compared with about 5% of the rest). The proportion mentioning something in the draftsman and operative area increases as status decreases (from about 3% of the High Status group to 11-12%

TABLE 17
Expected Occupation Ten Years After High School by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Professional and Technical	(53%)	(31%)	(25%)	(28%)	(65%)	(49%)	(41%)	(47%)
Doctor, Dentist, Nurse	14%	11%	11%	13%	9%	7%	2%	3%
Education & Welfare	27	12	6	10	8	8	9	11
Engineering	1	0	0	0	20	14	7	8
Law	4	1	0	0	10	3	2	0
Natural Science	0	2	1	0	5	3	2	5
Arts & Entertainment	2	1	1	0	4	4	5	3
Athlete	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	5
All Other Professional & Technical	5	4	6	5	7	9	13	12
Others								
Manager & Proprietors	1	1	0	2	4	6	4	8
Sales & Clerical	8	16	19	21	1	4	6	6
Craftsman & Operative	0	2	1	2	0	9	14	11
Service Worker	2	7	13	13	1	3	4	0
Armed Services	0	1	1	0	11	6	2	8
Housewife	29	34	30	21	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	6
Don't Know	7	8	11	13	18	20	24	14
	100% (86)	100% (135)	100% (123)	100% (68)	100% (82)	100% (145)	100% (86)	100% (36)

of the two lowest status levels). Fewer of the incongruent status boys mention the armed services. One-in-ten of the Low Status Incongruents were unable to formulate any desire at all.

Almost two-thirds of the High Status boys expect a professional level occupation compared with somewhat less than half of each of the other three status levels. Engineering (20%), Law (10%) and medicine (9%) tend to be associated with high status (compared with 8%, 0%, and 3% respectively for engineering, Law, and medicine for the Low Status Congruent group). Inversely associated with status are sales and clerical (from 1% of the Highs to 6% of the lows) and craftsmen and operative jobs (from 0% to 11-14% for the two lower status groups). Fewer of the incongruent status groups mention natural science professions, athletics, or the armed services as desired occupations while somewhat more do mention service type occupations. More of the incongruent status boys "don't know" what they expect to be doing ten years after high school. However, one-in-five of all boys say "don't know." This is twice the proportion of girls giving a like answer; however, many of the girl's "don't knows" probably ended up as housewife choices.

Turning to the more detailed analysis of Tables 18 and 19 we note that more of the bright incongruent groups of girls (i.e., bright white lower-class, and bright, Negro lower-class) desire professional level occupations (52% and 61% respectively for the white and Negro girls compared with 47% for the low IQ middle-class girls and 42% of the low IQ white working-class girls. The bright Negro girls selected nursing (or medicine) more frequently than any

TABLE 18
Desired Occupation Ten Years After High School by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Professional and Technical	(47%)	(52%)	(42%)	(61%)	(77%)	(70%)	(57%)	(70%)
Doctor, Dentist, Nurse	19%	17%	22%	28%	17%	8%	9%	20%
Education & Welfare	14	16	9	9	7	4	7	5
Engineering	0	0	0	0	14	15	7	15
Law	0	2	3	0	0	7	0	0
Natural Science	0	3	0	3	4	6	6	10
Arts & Entertainment	14	5	6	3	4	10	3	10
Athlete	0	0	0	0	7	13	10	5
All Other Professional & Technical	0	9	2	18	24	7	15	5
Others								
Manager & Proprietors	10	2	0	3	10	9	10	5
Sales & Clerical	38	23	26	24	0	2	4	0
Craftsman & Operative	0	2	4	0	4	8	12	15
Service Worker	0	15	21	12	3	2	2	5
Armed Services	0	1	3	0	0	5	1	0
Housewife	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	0
Don't Know	0	0	4	0	3	3	10	5
	100% (21)	100% (120)	100% (77)	100% (33)	100% (29)	100% (121)	100% (68)	100% (20)

Code for Column Headings:

	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
IQ	Low	High	Low	High
Class	MC	WC	WC	WC
Race	White	White	White	Negro

other occupation and in a greater proportion than any other group (28% compared with about 19% of all others). The bright working-class and low IQ middle-class groups had about one-in-six girls who desired teaching or social work. More of the low IQ middle-class girls desired something in the arts and entertainment area (14% to about 5% of the rest), in the manager and proprietor area (10% to less than 2% of the rest), and sales and clerical jobs (38% to about 25% of the rest). It will be recalled that this group of girls had the highest proportion of any who elected the commercial program in high school.

When we turn to the expected occupation of the incongruent girls, we find similar but sharper differences for the most part (Table 19). One-half of the bright Negro girls expect a professional level occupation (which is comparable to the proportion of High Status females) compared with a third of the bright working-class group. More of the bright lower-class Negro and white girls expect to be nurses (25% and 11% respectively compared with 4-5% of the others). More of the low IQ middle-class (15%) and bright working-class (12%) girls expect to be in education or social work (compared with 6% of the others). More of the low IQ white girls expect to end up in a clerical job (25%) compared to the other incogruent status groups. None of the 14% of these middle-class low IQ white girls who desired something in the arts and entertainment really expect to be so employed. More of the lower IQ working-class white girls expect some service type occupation than any of the other groups (18%). Twenty percent of the bright Negro girls as compared to a third of the other three groups expect to be housewives. This proportion is comparable to the proportion of the Low Status

TABLE 19
Expected Occupation Ten Years After High School by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Professional and Technical	(25%)	(32%)	(12%)	(51%)	(46%)	(50%)	(36%)	(66%)
Doctor, Dentist, Nurse	5%	11%	4%	25%	12%	5%	0%	11%
Education & Welfare	15	12	6	6	4	10	6	11
Engineering	0	0	0	0	15	14	10	0
Law	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	11
Natural Science	5	1	0	3	0	4	2	6
Arts & Entertainment	0	2	1	0	0	4	3	11
Athlete	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
All Other Professional & Technical	0	5	1	17	15	9	15	11
Others								
Manager & Proprietors	5	0	0	0	11	4	2	5
Sales & Clerical	25	14	18	20	0	4	8	0
Craftsman & Operative	0	2	1	0	8	10	15	6
Service Worker	0	9	18	6	0	3	3	6
Armed Services	0	1	1	0	4	7	3	0
Housewife	30	36	33	20	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	4	3	7	0
Don't Know	15	6	17	3	27	19	26	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(20)	(112)	(79)	(35)	(26)	(115)	(61)	(18)

group which expected "housewife" (21%). Finally, many fewer of the bright Negro and white group didn't know what they expect to be doing ten years after high school. They evidently had clearer more positive expectations than the other incongruent status girls.

Turning now to the boys, we find that a high proportion of all incongruent status boys desire a professional level occupation. One in five of the bright Negro boys desire something in the medical area. Almost as many of the high status low IQ boys made the same response (17%). More of bright lower-class white and Negro boys desire something in the arts and entertainment area (10% compared with 3-4% of the others). More of the low IQ working-class white boys do know what they desire than any other group (10%).

Two-thirds of the bright Negro boys expect professional level occupation (which is comparable to the proportion of High Congruent Status boys). About half the bright lower-class white boys express a similar expectation. No particular occupations stand out as the overwhelming choice of any subgroup. As was the case with the incongruent status girls, more of the bright Negro and white lower-class boys know what they expect to be doing ten years after high school as compared to the other incongruent status groups.

Occupational Prestige Level

Each occupation mentioned as desired or expected was assigned a prestige score based on an index worked out by Duncan (Reiss, 1961) who determined the relative weights of income and education in predicting to the North-Hatt (NORC, 1953) prestige scores and then calculated the equivalent scores for all occupations of the 1950 census. An assessment of just how skewed were the distributions

TABLE 20
Prestige Level of Desired and Expected Occupation by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
DESIRED OCCUPATION Prestige Level[a]								
Very High[b]	10%	7%	6%	6%	47%	36%	27%	28%
Tenth Decile	33	28	16	13	31	24	27	29
Ninth Decile	20	37	35	35	15	23	18	17
Eighth Decile	23	15	27	27	2	7	14	3
First through Seventh	14	13	16	19	5	10	14	23
	100% (78)	100% (141)	100% (116)	100% (69)	100% (88)	100% (151)	100% (85)	100% (35)
EXPECTED OCCUPATION Prestige Level[a]								
Very High[b]	11%	3%	1%	4%	49%	32%	16%	11%
Tenth Decile	40	32	15	17	28	25	31	41
Ninth Decile	25	28	38	31	9	9	15	17
Eighth Decile	22	24	24	24	3	10	12	10
First through Seventh	2	13	22	24	11	24	26	21
	100% (55)	100% (78)	100% (72)	100% (46)	100% (67)	100% (116)	100% (65)	100% (29)

[a] These levels refer to the prestige distribution of people in occupations on the 1950 census. See APPENDIX B of _Occupations and Social Status_, Albert J. Reiss, Jr. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

[b] Very high includes the most prestigeful 20% of the population. These include, for example, college professors, engineers, lawyers, doctors, etc. The next 25%, but still in the tenth decile, include teachers, draftsmen, high level managers, and proprieters. Examples of ninth decile occupations are clergymen, librarians, secretaries, social workers, technicians, etc. Eight decile occupations are nurses, cashiers, clerical workers, sales clerks. Seventh decile occupations are: many craftsman level occupations, fireman, and policeman.

of desired and expected occupations can be determined by noting the skewed prestige scores in Table 20. Approximately 45% of the respondents picked occupations held by the top 10% of the population (in 1950). Approximately 15% mention occupations held by the lower 70% of the people in the country. The top decile was divided into two rows because of the large number of occupations falling at this level. The Very High level includes such occupations as college professors, engineers, lawyers, and doctors.

About half the High Congruent Status boys tend to desire and expect these very high prestige occupations. The higher prestige occupations chosen by the girls, though still represented in the tenth decile of the 1950 population, nevertheless have somewhat lower rankings, such as teaching. Prestige of occupation, desired and expected, is related to the status level of the youths. One-in-ten of the Low Status boys expect a very High occupation compared with five-in-ten of the High Status boys.

If we consider the Very High plus the rest of the tenth decile level occupations for the females, it will be noted that 19% of the Low Status girls desire an occupation at this level compared with 43% of the High Status girls, and 51% of the High Status girls expect such an occupation compared with 21% of the Low Status girls. Although it will be recalled that in general not as many professional level occupations were expected as desired, we have a higher level of expectations of high prestige level jobs expected by the girls. The reason for this is that about a third of the girls who expect to be housewives do not appear in the percentages of Tables 20 and 21.

The bright white and Negro lower-class girls desire and expect

TABLE 21
Prestige Level of Desired and Expected Occupation
by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
DESIRED OCCUPATION Prestige Level[a]								
Very High[b]	15%	5%	4%	12%	32%	37%	20%	37%
Tenth Decile	15	31	11	24	32	24	25	31
Ninth Decile	60	34	35	31	11	23	23	5
Eighth Decile	5	16	28	24	18	5	15	16
First through Seventh	5	14	22	9	7	11	17	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(20)	(118)	(74)	(33)	(28)	(117)	(60)	(19)
EXPECTED OCCUPATION Prestige Level[a]								
Very High[b]	0%	3%	0%	4%	37%	31%	13%	27%
Tenth Decile	27	34	12	22	21	27	25	40
Ninth Decile	55	23	38	30	5	7	18	13
Eighth Decile	9	26	15	37	16	10	11	13
First through Seventh	9	14	35	7	21	25	33	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(11)	(65)	(40)	(27)	(19)	(93)	(45)	(15)

[a] See footnote a, Table 20.

[b] See footnote b, Table 20.

high prestige occupations more than do the other high and low status incongruents. Six-of-ten of the low IQ middle-class white girls desire ninth decile level occupations. Secretaries fall at this level. More of the bright Negro and white lower-class boys desire the Very High occupations compared with the other incongruent status groups. The occupations desired and expected by the low IQ working-class white boys and girls disproportionately fall among the lowest prestige levels.

Social Class Identification and Expectations

We also explored the orientation of the teenager to social class status as well as occupational status. They were asked to respond to the question, "which of the following is the social class you think you will be a member of in the future?" and "Which of the following is the social class you now belong to?" The alternatives presented were Middle, Lower, Working, and Upper (See Tables 22-25).

Slightly over nine-in-ten of the High Congruent Status teenagers placed themselves in the middle or upper class compared to five-to-seven in ten of the others (Table 22).

The proportions of the boys and girls expecting their future class to be middle or upper increased with status (from 57% of the Low Status to 88% of the High Status girls and from 66% to 95% for the comparable male status groups (Table 23).

In general, the bright working-class boys and girls had higher proportions indicating present identification with working or lower class status (Table 24). This was especially true of the girls (47% of the bright Negroes and 36% of the bright working-class whites). Among the Low Incongruent Status youth, both boys and girls, with actual working or lower class status, the proportion who identified

TABLE 22
Present Social Class Identification by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Upper	14%	2%	6%	10%	13%	3%	7%	5%
Middle	78	63	66	55	77	62	52	49
Working	7	30	23	29	9	29	28	41
Lower	1	5	5	6	1	6	13	5
	100% (87)	100% (144)	100% (121)	100% (71)	100% (99)	100% (165)	100% (103)	100% (41)

TABLE 23
Expected Future Social Class by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Upper	17%	12%	12%	16%	35%	16%	30%	27%
Middle	71	65	62	41	60	64	48	39
Working	12	22	26	43	5	19	22	32
Lower	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
	100% (87)	100% (148)	100% (124)	100% (76)	100% (98)	100% (165)	100% (102)	100% (41)

TABLE 24
Present Social Class Identification by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Upper	0%	3%	4%	6%	9%	1%	4%	10%
Middle	77	61	78	47	66	63	55	37
Working	14	32	13	41	22	30	28	37
Lower	9	4	5	6	3	6	13	16
	100% (22)	100% (119)	100% (79)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100% (128)	100% (76)	100% (19)

TABLE 25
Expected Future Social Class by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Upper	18%	11%	11%	15%	15%	16%	27%	42%
Middle	64	66	64	58	66	63	48	53
Working	18	22	25	27	19	19	25	5
Lower	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
	100% (22)	100% (122)	100% (81)	100% (33)	100% (32)	100% (128)	100% (75)	100% (19)

TABLE 26
Social Mobility Expectations by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Upward	6%	33%	26%	24%	32%	35%	43%	45%
Same	87	57	54	49	62	55	47	40
Down	7	10	20	27	6	10	10	15
	100% (86)	100% (145)	100% (121)	100% (70)	100% (98)	100% (162)	100% (102)	100% (40)

TABLE 27
Social Mobility Expectations by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Upward	36%	33%	19%	41%	25%	37%	40%	63%
Same	55	57	62	44	63	53	49	37
Down	9	10	19	15	12	10	11	0
	100% (22)	100% (119)	100% (79)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100% (126)	100% (75)	100% (19)

themselves with their level ranged from about one-in-four of the low IQ working-class girls to somewhat over half of the bright Negro teenagers.

When we look at the expected class position of these youth, (See Table 25) we see that the greatest shifts of any groups are with the bright Negro boys and girls, particularly the boys. Ninety-five percent of these boys say they expect to be in the middle or upper class (compared with 47% currently identifying with these levels). The comparable proportions for the girls were 73% and 53% respectively for the future and present. The bright Negro boys expect higher future class levels than do any of the other incongruent status groups. There was not a similar shift among the female groups. The distributions of expected class positions were comparable for the two sexes except for the bright Negro boys who clearly expect the greatest social mobility.

We can check this interpretation about expectations of mobility by comparing the two scores of each respondent, coding them as expecting the same, or upward or downward shifts in status. These data are presented in Tables 26 and 27. There is one problem interpreting such expected mobility indices and that is that those who are already high cannot, as an artifact of measurement, present themselves as highly mobile. In contrast, the lowest group has the greatest potential for having more apparent mobility aspirations.

The proportion indicating no expected change decreases with decreasing status (from 87% to 49% from High to Low Status for the girls and from 62% to 40% for the boys). But the proportion apparently expecting downward mobility increases with decreasing status

TABLE 28
Perceived Attitude of Father About Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Definitely wants and expects college	48%	18%	14%	23%	80%	37%	36%	29%
Wants, but leaving it up to respondent	39	48	52	54	15	50	46	47
Doesn't care either way	12	25	29	19	5	12	10	19
Doesn't want or expect college, Don't know	1	9	5	4	0	1	8	5
	100% (83)	100% (130)	100% (113)	100% (70)	100% (92)	100% (150)	100% (98)	100% (42)

TABLE 29
Perceived Attitude of Mother About Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Definitely wants and expects college	46%	21%	23%	30%	78%	43%	40%	34%
Wants, but leaving it up to respondent	42	42	48	60	19	45	44	54
Doesn't care either way	9	29	23	7	3	12	12	7
Doesn't want or expect college, Don't know	3	8	6	3	0	0	4	5
	100% (86)	100% (129)	100% (114)	100% (72)	100% (92)	100% (152)	100% (98)	100% (41)

(from 7% to 27% for the females and from 6% to 15% for the males). This may reflect some of the confusion about the meaning of "working-class". Overall, more boys expect increases in status (approximately 37% boys compared with about 24% of the girls).

As we would expect, from the earlier analysis, the bright Negro boys and girls have higher proportions who expect increases in class position. Sixty-three percent of the boys and 41% of the girls expect mobility. The female group with the second highest proportion expecting upward changes was the low IQ middle-class girls (36%). How realistic this expectation may be is hard to say. But there is some indication that a disproportionate number from this group of girls are rated as attractive by their teachers and may well be potentially more mobile than their brighter peers. In contrast, the low IQ middle-class boys had the lowest proportion who expected upward changes in status (25%). Fewest of the working-class low IQ white girls expected upward changes (19%) and just as many expected downward changes. Most male-female differences are in the direction of more boys than girls being more optimistic about future class attainment.

Perceived Parental Expectations about Future Education

The teenagers were asked about the attitude of their parents about their going to college. The alternative "definitely wants and expects college" will be interpreted as perceiving strong parental encouragement and support. We find that both parents of the male teenagers have higher expectations of their going to college (See Tables 28 and 29). Approximately eight-in-ten of the fathers and mothers of the High Congruent Status boys "definitely wants and

TABLE 30
Perceived Attitude of Father About Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Definitely wants and expects college	21%	17%	6%	30%	48%	34%	30%	53%
Wants, but leaving it up to respondent	47	49	47	61	42	51	48	41
Doesn't care either way	16	26	39	9	10	13	11	6
Doesn't want or expect college, Don't know	16	8	8	0	0	2	11	0
	100% (19)	100% (107)	100% (71)	100% (33)	100% (31)	100% (115)	100% (73)	100% (17)

TABLE 31
Perceived Attitude of Mother About Respondent Going to College by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Definitely wants and expects college	17%	23%	14%	39%	52%	41%	32%	71%
Wants, but leaving it up to respondent	44	40	47	49	32	49	48	29
Doesn't care either way	33	29	29	12	16	10	15	0
Doesn't want or expect college, Don't know	6	8	10	0	0	0	5	0
	100% (18)	100% (107)	100% (72)	100% (33)	100% (31)	100% (116)	100% (73)	100% (17)

expects them to go to college," compared with slightly less than half of the parents of the High Congruent Status girls. These proportions are much higher than the two-in-ten of the parents of girls at the other status levels who were seen as so supportive, and three to four-in-ten of the parents of the boys. It is interesting to note that the mothers of the three lower status groups are seen as more supportive in their expectation than the fathers, although perhaps less realistic.

It was assumed that certain of the alternatives to this item would indicate some alienation from the parents. These alternatives were "doesn't care either way," "doesn't want or expect college," or an indication that the respondent didn't know his parents' attitude. In looking at these porportions (the bottom two rows of Tables 28 and 29), we observe an inverse association of status and the proportion of the boys indicating some alienation from the father (from 5% of the High Status boys to almost a quarter of the Low Status boys). This trend was not as strong with the mothers of the boys because the Low Status group had only about half as many "didn't care mothers as fathers. The girl's pattern seems quite different. About a third of the fathers and mothers of the incongruent status girls are seen as not caring about or expecting future schooling. This is in contrast to the one-in-eight of the high status parents. As with the Low Status boys, so the Low Status girls see their mother as more supportive than the father. However, fewer of the Low Status girls see the father as not caring (about one-in-four) as contrasted to more alienation for father in the responses of the incongruent status girls.

TABLE 32
Expectation of Graduating from High School by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Definitely Yes	96%	91%	86%	82%	96%	85%	83%	75%
Probably Yes	4	8	10	14	4	13	14	23
Probably or Definitely Not	0	1	4	4	0	2	3	2
	100% (88)	100% (148)	100% (124)	100% (83)	100% (101)	100% (174)	100% (104)	100% (48)

TABLE 33
Desire for College by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Yes	75%	49%	34%	35%	93%	61%	46%	51%
Not Sure	17	27	32	46	4	30	36	36
No	8	24	34	19	3	9	18	13
	100% (88)	100% (148)	100% (122)	100% (85)	100% (100)	100% (172)	100% (101)	100% (45)

TABLE 34
Expectation of College by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Definitely Yes	50%	21%	18%	14%	66%	32%	27%	20%
Probably Yes	30	26	30	35	26	34	29	43
Probably Not	13	38	29	34	5	25	26	27
Definitely Not	7	15	23	17	3	9	18	10
	100% (87)	100% (146)	100% (121)	100% (83)	100% (100)	100% (169)	100% (102)	100% (49)

Of the incongruent status groups, the parents of the bright Negroes are seen as most supportive of going to college (71% of the mothers and 53% of the fathers of the boys; 39% and 30% respectively for the mothers and fathers of the girls). The parents of the other status incongruent teenagers are seen as holding less ambitions expectations, although the boys perceive stronger expectations for them than do the girls. Less than a quarter of the girls see their parents as holding expectations for college. Typically the mothers are seen as having higher expectations for the boys than do the fathers.

The Teenagers' Educational Desires and Expectations

The respondents were asked whether they expected to graduate from high school. Most, of course, do. The proportion responding "definitely yes" was associated with status. The range of percentages from high to low status was 96 to 82 for the girls and 96 to 75 for boys (Table 32).

It is of interest that the proprtions of the bright Negro girls and boys who responded "definitely yes" (97% and 100%) were as high as the responses of the High Congruent Status boys and girls, while the proportions for the low IQ middle-class and lower-class teenagers were comparable to those of the Low Congruent Status groups (Table 35); one-in-four did not definitely expect to finish high school.

The results are quite similar when we review the data on desire for and expectation of college. The proportion desiring college (Table 33 was associated with status level except that somewhat more of the Low Congruent Status boys and girls answered "yes" to the question than was true of the Low Incongruent Status groups. More

TABLE 35
Expectation of Graduating from High School by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Definitely Yes	73%	93%	81%	97%	74%	88%	76%	100%
Probably Yes	23	6	13	3	21	11	20	0
Probably or Definitely Not	4	1	6	0	5	1	4	0
	100% (22)	100% (122)	100% (82)	100% (33)	100% (34)	100% (134)	100% (76)	100% (20)

TABLE 36
Desire for College by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Yes	32%	51%	20%	63%	53%	61%	41%	63%
Not Sure	36	25	34	28	35	30	36	32
No	32	24	46	9	12	9	23	5
	100% (22)	100% (122)	100% (82)	100% (32)	100% (34)	100% (132)	100% (74)	100% (19)

TABLE 37
Expectation of College by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Definitely Yes	9%	22%	10%	39%	23%	35%	20%	43%
Probably Yes	36	24	21	40	47	28	29	33
Probably Not	46	37	37	18	15	29	26	24
Definitely Not	9	17	32	3	15	8	25	0
	100% (22)	100% (120)	100% (78)	100% (33)	100% (34)	100% (129)	100% (73)	100% (21)

boys than girls desire college. More of the bright working-class Negroes and white desire college (Table 36). As before, the proportion of Negroes is higher than the proportion of whites, for both sexes. More of the low IQ middle-class and lower-class boys and girls say "no" to college desires than even the Low Congruent Status groups. The boys are more reluctant to say "no" to desire for college than the girls.

After the "desire college" question, the respondents were asked whether they expected college. They had four alternatives, namely definitely or probably yes and definitely or probably not. We observe in Table 36 a strong assoication with status of the frequency responding "definitely yes". The range was from 14% to 50% of the females and 20% to 66% of the males moving from the Low to the High status groups. The greatest difference between adjacent status groups occurs between the High and High Incongruent groups for both boys and girls. This was true also with respect to desire for college. It will be noted that more boys than girls expect college. Only one-in-five of the High Status girls and about one-in-twelve of the High Status boys answer either probably not or definitely not. More of the Low Incongruent Status boys and girls answered "definitely not" than any other groups.

In Table 37, we observe a familiar pattern. The two high IQ bright Negro and white working-class groups have the highest proportion expecting college.

Over half the low IQ middle-class white girls don't expect college. However, only three-in-ten of this group of boys don't expect college.

TABLE 38
High School Program Elected or Expected by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
College Prep	72%	34%	31%	20%	85%	54%	38%	14%
Commercial	18	48	50	63	4	9	17	23
General	7	12	16	13	8	20	29	33
Vocational	2	3	2	4	3	14	11	26
Other, Don't Know	1	3	1	0	0	3	5	4
	100% (88)	100% (145)	100% (124)	100% (83)	100% (101)	100% (172)	100% (109)	100% (57)

TABLE 39
High School Program Elected or Expected by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
College Prep	20%	36%	20%	58%	56%	53%	31%	56%
Commercial	60	46	56	36	16	8	21	8
General	15	12	22	3	22	20	33	16
Vocational	0	3	1	3	6	15	10	16
Other, Don't Know	5	3	1	0	0	4	5	4
	100% (20)	100% (121)	100% (81)	100% (33)	100% (32)	100% (134)	100% (75)	100% (25)

Selection of High School Program

The expectations and aspirations about future occupational and social class status should be reflected in the here and now of high school program choice, and attitudes toward school and learning opportunities. These latter factors will be analyzed in the next chapter. The respondents were asked which high school program they had selected (or expected to select if they were eighth graders).

As status increases, a significantly greater proportion of youth elect or expect to elect the college prep program (Table 38). This was true for both the girls (from 20% of the Low group to 72% of the high) and the boys (from 14% to 85%). In general, more males than females at each status level selected college prep. The exception was at the Low Congruent Status level. Inversely associated with status, for the boys, were the selection of the commercial program (from 4% of the High group to 23% of the Lows), the General program (from 8% to 33%) and the vocational program (from 3% to 26%). Inversely associated with status, for the girls, was the selection of the commercial program (from 18% of the High Status group to 63% of the Low Status group). In Table 39 are the distributions of programs selected by the various incongruent status groups. The distribution for the low IQ middle-class girls is similar to that of the Low Status group. Only one-in-five is in, or plans to be in, the college prep program, while three-in-five have selected the commercial program, the largest proportion of any of the incongruent groups. More of the bright lower-class white and Negro girls selected college prep (36% and 58% respectively for the whites and Negroes).

The comparative distributions for the incongruent status male groups were somewhat different. Somewhat over half of each selected college prep with the exception of the low IQ lower-class white boys. Only three-in-ten of them indicated the college prep program. The bright Negro boys and girls strongly elected the college prep program. This is also true of the bright working-class white teenagers, although not as many of the girls elect the college oriented program. The biggest contrast between the sexes concerns the lower IQ middle-class youth. The girls appear to turn to other than college prep programs which, for the middle-class male, is not so easy a solution.

The Meaning of Time

Among the concepts rated on the Semantic Differential instrument were "The Past", "The Present", and "The Future". These time perspective attitudes may be related to aspiration and to work commitment in the here and now.

All three points in time had the same score for the vigor factor, neither high nor particularly low. So time is seen as neither very strong, masculine, or fast, nor as very weak, feminine, or slow. The three concepts do, however, differ along the Evaluative and Difficulty dimensions. When plotted, the three concepts approximate a straight line and are ordered. The Past is evaluated negatively (unimportant, unpleasant, etc.) and slightly low on Difficulty (easy, easy-going, not frightening, etc.). It is noteworthy that this concept, The Past, was the only one of the fifteen to fall into the cell defined by below average on all three dimensions. The Present is seen as somewhat positive and tougher while the future is viewed as quite positive (important, good, etc.) but also as very hard (tough-going, difficult, frightening). Before turning to the group differences, one final observation is in order. It is of interest that these three concepts have their scores on the Evaluative and Difficulty dimensions varying together because otherwise these two dimensions tended to be negatively correlated. Of the other twelve concepts, only Achievement and School did not fall into the quadrants defined by above average on one while below average on the other dimension.

The Past. There is a sex and status difference for the two Congruent Status levels on the evaluative dimension. Girls view the past in less negative terms than do the boys and the Low Status groups see the past to be more unpleasant, bad, etc. The Low Congruent Status boys have the most extreme score (41, see Table 40). The Past was not differentiated significantly by the various groups along the Difficulty dimension. However, they differed considerably in their ratings along the Vigor dimension. Boys see the past as much more masculine, strong, etc., than do the girls. The differences were greater for the Low Status Incongruents than any other groups. It is perhaps not surprising that The Past (and, as we shall see, also The Present and The Future) differentiates the sexes on this dimension. The scale most heavily weighted by this factor is the Masculine-Feminine scale. It should not be unexpected that the meaning of time is tied to one's sex-role. It is of interest that the low IQ middle-class boys rate the past in slightly feminine (or weak) terms. The smallest sex difference is found within this group. The two Low Status Incongruent groups, the low IQ working-

TABLE 40
The Meaning of the Past by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	46	50	47	46	46	46	46	47	41	2.9
Difficulty	49	49	50	50	49	49	49	50	50	1.2
Vigor	48	47	46	45	45	51	50	54	50	11.2
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 41
The Meaning of the Past by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	45	47	45	48	47	46	47	48	0.7
Difficulty	46	51	50	48	49	49	50	50	1.7
Vigor	47	46	45	44	49	50	54	53	7.4
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

TABLE 42
The Meaning of the Present by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	51	54	53	53	54	50	49	48	48	7.7
Difficulty	52	53	52	52	50	53	54	52	50	2.2
Vigor	49	49	46	44	45	52	51	53	50	14.9
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 43
The Meaning of the Present by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	55	53	52	54	47	49	47	49	4.5
Difficulty	50	53	52	52	53	54	53	52	1.1
Vigor	46	46	45	43	50	51	52	54	10.7
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

TABLE 44
The Meaning of the Future by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	53	55	55	54	55	53	52	50	50	7.0
Difficulty	54	56	55	54	51	55	55	54	51	3.5
Vigor	48	47	47	44	45	51	50	52	48	12.9
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 45
The Meaning of the Future by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	55	54	54	55	52	52	49	50	3.8
Difficulty	54	55	54	54	58	54	55	52	1.6
Vigor	45	47	44	43	48	51	52	51	8.9
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

class boys and the bright Negroes, are characterized by the greatest sex difference. In addition, these boys rate the past as more masculine and strong than do the other males.

The Present. Girls see the Present in more positive terms than do the boys. In addition, for the boys, lower status is associated with rating the present more negatively (Table 42). Among the incongruent females (Table 43), the low IQ middle-class white girls view it the least positively. The Low Status boys and girls have the lowest Difficulty scores (50). As with The Past, The Present is rated quite differently by the sexes on the third dimension. And again the sex difference for the low IQ working-class boys and bright Negroes is greatest, i.e., these boys see their present as more masculine while the girls see their present as more feminine.

The Future. The girls also rate The Future more positively (Table 44). Again, there is a status difference for the boys with the higher status boys seeing the future more positively. There is a status difference for both sexes on the Difficulty dimension. All status levels rate the future as Tough-going, difficult, frightening, etc., and the degree increaseswith status. Among the incongruent status male groups, the low IQ middle-class boys rate The Future as the most difficult, (58), while the bright Negroes have the lowest difficulty score, almost as low as the Congruent Lows. All male groups see The Future as more masculine and the girls see it as more feminine. And again, the greatest differences are between the boys and girls of the low IQ middle-class and the bright Negro groups. And finally, also again, the low IQ middle-class boys see the future in less masculine (actually slightly feminine) terms. In this respect they are comparable to the Low Status males as they were on this dimension for The Past and the Present as well.

The Past, Present, and Future. It will have been noted that although these three concepts differed from each other on the Difficulty dimension, there were only modest differences along this dimension among the various groups within each concept (See the F-ratios). We can then compare the groups and concepts within a two-dimensional space defined by the other two concepts. The first thing that's noteworthy is that The Past, Present, and Future are more feminine, weak, slow, etc., for the girls than they are masculine, strong, and fast for the boys. They tend to see the past as unpleasant, unimportant, and both the Present and the Future in quite positive terms, with the future somewhat more promising. There were no noteworthy differences among the groups although the High Status girls were quite a bit less negative with respect to The Past (50), and the low IQ working-class girls tended to have lower Evaluative scores for all three concepts.

The High Status girls tended, over all three concepts to have the highest (least feminine) scores on the vigor dimension. Roughly in order toward lower (more feminine) scores were the bright working-class low IQ middle-class, Low Congruent Status, low IQ working-class, and finally, the bright Negro girls.

The male groups tended to view the Present in more positive terms than the past, and the Future more positively than the Present. However, these differences were not so great as they were for the girls with the exception of the Low Status boys who rate The Past most unpleasant (41). The males see the Past somewhat less negatively and the Present more negative than positive. The boys' view of the future is also less positive than is true of the girls. Indeed, on the Evaluative dimension for the future, the Low Congruent Status boys, bright Negroes and low IQ boys are neutral rather than positive. The Low Status and low IQ middle-class boys tended to rate the Past, Present, and Future (especially the latter) as neutral or toward the feminine end of the Vigor dimension. The bright Negro boys and low IQ working-class boys tend to see these three time periods as more vigorous than the other groups.

Summary

In this chapter we examined the evidence about how boys and girls felt about who they are and where they are going in certain aspects of development. We have observed that time, the past, present, and future, have quite different meanings for the various groups of teenagers. We found that time was seen as feminine by the girls and as masculine by the boys. The past, we found, was regarded generally as a relatively negative concept by all. It may be that the past represents a more rosy time-period than the present or future to some, but this group of teenagers, collectively, rate it as unpleasant and unimportant.

In contrast, the girls regard the present as quite positive and the future even more so. The boys rate the present as somewhat negative and the future as only slightly positive. Why this great contrast between these teenage boys and girls concerning how the present and future are regarded evaluatively? This would seem to be a period in the life of the girls when they are becoming women, and the future is, in a sense, closer for them than it is for the boys. They are presently closer to being women, with all that implies, than their male age-mates are to being men. The specifics of meeting the major societal expectations concerning fulfilling their sex-role obligations are clearer to them, are both comprehensible and acceptable and moreover fulfillment is near at hand. They like their present sex-role experiences and anticipate the extrapolation of these experiences into the future, a future closer and less problematical than that of the males. The teenage male in contrast, is yet quite distant from fulfilling his comparable sex-role obligations and, more important, the specifics of meeting these expectations are very ambiguous and success is far from the certainty which characterizes the young woman's sex-role future.

So what are some of the "specifics" open to these boys? What are they doing and what do they expect to be doing as they move involuntarily toward that time-period, the future? They must have done things, be doing things, and be planning things in anticipation of that time. The girls, it is our impression, also anticipate the future, but eagerly and even impatiently. They do not feel pulled or pushed toward it as the boys do. It is not that the boys have an avoidance feeling about the future as such, it's certain that they look forward, as do the girls, to taking their place. But for the boys, finding their place is the problem. The future has positive valence for them, but the specifics of getting there are characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty both with respect to the means and the particulars of the goal.

We asked what these youth, the girls as well as the boys, have done, are doing, and planning to do about their future. We reexamined some past behavior, the selection of a high school program, and some indications of where they feel they are now, e.g., present social class level, and where they expect to be going in terms of occupational and class level. We will summarize by subgroups what has been discovered in this analysis, as we did at the end of Chapter 3 and will do for each subsequent chapter. Before proceeding, however, some general findings and findings on sex differences will be reviewed. Since the past, present, and future have such differences in significance for our teenagers, we will follow that sequence in reviewing the data.

Selecting a high school program is a milestone in terms of it's significant relationship to the nature and level of one's later occupation. It is the first major choice a youth makes and it's significance lies in the fact that the program commits one to a path which involves quite different choice points from other paths and which has at the end, a particular set of career alternatives and life styles. Once a path is selected, one's subsequent decisions concern the choice points implicit in that path; going back and changing paths is usually not seen as one of one's alternatives. This decision shares significance with such other decisions as whether to stay in school or not, and whether to go to college or not. And this decision is made by youth at the age of thirteen or fourteen. That seems young to be making decisions which have such implications for what the rest of one's life experiences will be, indeed, for what one's total identity will be years later. But is it? It seems likely that the decision is not so self-conscious as all that. By the time they reach high school, these boys and girls are veterans so far as the educational setting is concerned. They know the system and have a very good idea generally of their capabilities and probabilities of success. That is success as defined by the system which is related to the opportunity structure of the system for the expression of talents and skills and the systems propensity for rewarding certain behaviors. Given the system as perceived and as previously experienced, their decisions about a high school program follow routinely. Selecting a program is less making a decision than a public revelation of what the school system has taught these youth to think about themselves and their life opportunities. They have been taught their place. It is not suprising then to observe that 17 of each 20 of the High Congruent boys are in or expect to be in a college prep program compared with only 3 in 20 of the Low Congruent Status boys. The comparable statistics for the girls are 14 to 4 out of each twenty for the two status levels. Overall more boys than girls are in the college prep programs, a testimony to the fact that these represent the higher mobility path today and this is clear enough to the boys. More of the girls are in commercial programs while the vocational and general programs are chosen by more boys. Overall, 4-5 of each ten teenagers in our sample are in college prep programs. Another 3 are in commercial programs, one or two are taking a general curriculum, and the other is a vocational student. College prep predominates; it is The Path.

The next possible decision facing high school age youth is whether to finish high school or drop out. Most expect to complete this part of their education. Only two percent express some doubt. Almost nine-in-ten say they definitely expect to finish and another one-in-ten say probably they will. Responding "definitely yes" is associated with high IQ. Only three-quarters of the boys with low IQ definitely expect to finish high school. The few who say they probably or definitely will not do so tend to be those with the lower IQ. The proportion of girls definitely expecting to complete high school is greater than the proportion of boys. This is probably realistic. More girls complete high school. The dropout rate is higher for the boys. It's harder for the boys to remain in a system where they are defined and regarded as failures, expecially when they learn to share this conception. The poor female student is not so clearly a failure if she is attractive or has a nice personality. Her academic performance plays a less significant role in her sex-role identity. To an extent, her achievement level matters not at all.

How about the next decision, college? Two questions were asked, desire for and expectation of college. The first was asked to provide an opportunity for any inclination to share educational fantasies to be expressed before they were asked what they actually expected. Over half the teenagers said they desired college, about a quarter were not sure, only one-in-six said they had no desire for college. As one would expect from our discussion so far, more males than females at every status level indicated a desire for college. A considerably greater proportion of the girls desire to have nothing to do with college (close to three-in-ten compared with about one-in-ten of the boys). And what of expectations of college? Three-in-ten say "definitely" and a like number say "probably". Of the rest of the ten, two-to-three say "probably not," the other one-to-two are quite definite about not expecting to attend college. As we would expect, more boys than girls definitely expect college. More girls say probably and definitely not. The higher the status level, the greater the difference in the direction of more boys expecting college. Expectation of college is directly and strongly associated with status level. The greatest difference between status levels is between the Congruent and Incongruent High status groups. The difference between having everything going for you, being bright, white, and middle class, and lacking one of these attributes is more than a matter of arithmetic. More than twice as many of the High Congruent High Status boys and girls definitely expect to go to college.

A major factor influencing young people's decisions about their future is the attitude of their parents. Whether the parents feel strongly or care little should be related to expectation of college on the child's part. These two sets of attitudes are far from independent. So we find that perceived strong parental support (definitely wants and expects college) is strongly associated with status level. Again we observe the greatest difference between status levels to be between the two higher levels. The father is perceived to be very slightly more supportive by the High Congruent Status group. At all other status levels, more of the mothers are described as strongly supportive. This observation includes both boys and girls. There was a sex difference in perceived support, and a strong one. A much higher proportion of both parents of boys are perceived to be strongly supportive of their attending college. At the beginning of this discussion, we talked of the sex-role expectations of boys and girls. It is from the parents, among others, that these social obligations are learned. From the daughters point of view, such differential expectations must be part of what they would include in their "it's a man's world" category of experiences.

There is some suggestion in the data that these boys and girls have a fairly good idea of their life opportunities, although many are inclined toward optimism (or generosity) in identifying their expected future positions. The respondents were asked their social class position. Preceeding the question was one asking what they expected it to be in the future. One purpose of the "future" question was that hopefully it would encourage greater candor when assessing present class position. Seven-in-ten claim identification with the middle or upper class. One-in-four say working class and one-in-twenty the lower class. Close to eight-in-ten say they expect to attain the middle or upper class level in the future. The girls are more generous in specifying their present position but not with regard to the future. This means, or course, that more boys had a difference between the two, the present and the future. There was also some difference between the two for the girls. But the boy is in a somewhat better position to aspire for and attain a higher social position as the result of his own efforts. The girl, on the other hand, has more of a problem. She either has to marry up or marry someone who is upward mobile. The chemistry of mate selection being what it is, it is probable that relatively few girls develop and execute such a plan. Although, as we said, the proportions checking middle and upper class were high, there was a strong association with the status levels in the predicted direction.

We asked two questions about occupations, what was desired, assuming the respondent could be anything at all, and what he expected to be doing ten years after completing high school. The first question was an attempt to obtain their fantasy choice. It's quite certain, however, that a considerable proportion of the responses to the second question are also very unrealistic. But we are provided with significant information. Seven-in-ten of the boys and five-in-ten of the girls desire a professional level occupation. The comparable proportions for what they expect are one-half and one-third, respectively, for the boys and girls. Overall, the proportions listing a professional level occupation tended to increase with status level. This trend was more clear cut for the girls. Not only were the boys more likely than the girls to name a professional level occupation but the one's they named tended to be of a higher prestige level. The boys picked doctor, the girls, nurse; the boys, law and engineering, the girls, teaching. About one-in-five of the boys did not know what they expected to be doing ten years after high school. Fewer than one-in-ten of the girls made such a response. This would seem to represent an indication of the greater ambiguity the future holds for boys. Three-in-ten of the girls listed housewife as expected occupation in spite of the occupation-set established by the two questions.

Overall, the High Congruent Status boys and girls stand out as most favored by circumstances and characteristics and see themselves well-placed in the future. The Bright Negro teenagers tended to be second only to the High Congruent Status groups in their expections of future attainments. The Bright white working class boys and girls were next. The low IQ middle-class teenagers present a mixed picture. The low IQ working-class and the Low Congruent Status groups have set the most modest goals for themselves but even so, we expect that a greater proportion of these youth, especially the boys, will fall short of their goals than will be true of any others. We will now summarize our observations of these subgroups in the order listed above.

High Congruent Status

These boys, compared with others, rate both the past and the present more positively. They seem optimistic. Compared with the other boys they rate time moderately vigorous but also somewhat difficult. The girls, while they rate time toward the feminine end end of the Vigor dimension, see it as more vigorous than do the other girls.

This group of boys and girls, as we have seen, have the most cause for optimism about the future. This is optimism they have had reason to feel for some time. Most are in college prep programs in high school, practically all expect to graduate from high school, over 90% of the boys and three-in-four of the girls desire college, and as many say they definitely or probably will go to college. Perceived parental support is greatest for these boys and girls. The boys especially are under strong pressure to go to college. Few of the girls and fewer of the boys perceive either of the parents as not caring or as non-supportive.

Nine-in-ten or more of these teenagers identify presently with the middle or upper class and expect to maintain or improve their class position. About eight-in-ten of the boys desire a professional level occupation and between six and seven-in-ten expect such an occupation. Boys at the other status levels desire professional level occupations in comparable numbers but those desired by the High Congruent Status boys have higher prestige. These boys tend to desire and expect to be doctors, lawyers, and engineers. About eight-in-ten of those listing an expected occupation expect occupations which would place them among the top ten percent of the population in terms of occupational prestige. Two-in-ten don't know what occupation to expect. The discrepancy between the distributions of the desired and expected occupations is less for these boys and girls than for the others.

Between six and seven-in-ten of the girls desire a professional level occupation and over half expect such an occupation. But three-in-ten expect to be housewives ten years after graduation from high school. About half of the girls expecting a professional level occupation expect to teach.

Bright Working-Class Negroes

These girls rate time as less vigorous, more toward the feminine-slow-weak end of the dimension, than do the other girls. The boys rate time as somewhat more vigorous than do the other boys but tend to regard the future as affectively neutral. The other two bright groups of boys, the High Congruent Status and bright white working-class boys rate the future as more positive.

The proportion of these boys and girls in college prep programs was second only to the proportion of the High Congruent Status boys and girls. Although, overall more boys than girls are in college prep programs, about an equal number of these boys and girls are in such a program. The proportion of the bright Negro boys is comparable to the bright white working-class and low IQ middle-class boys in college prep programs. Practically all these boys and girls expect to graduate from high school. In this they are comparable to the High Congruent Status boys and girls and exceed the proportions of any other group expecting to complete high school. Six-in-ten of the bright Negro teenagers desire college and four-in-ten say they definitely expect to go. Less than a quarter say "probably" or "definitely not" concerning expectation of attending college and fewer of these youth than the High Congruent Status boys and girls say "definitely not" to college. The parents of these boys and girls, while not perceived as supportive in quite the same proportions as was true of the High Congruent Status teenagers, nevertheless, are seen as far more supportive than is true of the parents of the other groups. Actually, slightly fewer of their parents than those of the High Congruent Status boys and girls are seen as non-supportive, as not caring much either way. Although the mothers were seen as somewhat more supportive than the father by all groups except the High Congruent Status boys and girls, these bright Negro boys see their mother as far more supportive (71% of the mothers definitely want and expect college for their son compared with 53% of the fathers). The present class identification of these boys and girls is the lowest of the six groups. However, the future class level expected by these boys is comparable to that of the High Congruent Status boys. Their present-future differences, therefore, indicate the highest expected mobility of any group. The girls, on the other hand, although indicating some mobility expectations as a function of their low present class position identification, have proportions comparable to most other groups of girls concerning future class expectations.

These boys and girls are comparable to the High Congruent Status group in the proportions desiring and expecting a professional level occupation. However, for the boys, the prestige level of the desired and expected occupations tends to be lower. No particular expected occupation stands out as more characteristic of these boys than other boys. Half of the girls expecting professional level occupations expect nursing. Two-in-ten of the girls expect to be housewives ten years after high school and another two-in-ten expect clerical jobs. One-in-six of the boys don't know what to expect.

Bright White Working-Class Group

The boys in this group are similar to the High Congruent Status boys in viewing the future as somewhat strong-vigorous and as positive. The girls are second to the High Congruent girls in viewing time as less weak-slow than the others.

The proportion of this group in college prep programs was third highest of the groups. A third of the girls and slightly over half the boys (a proportion comparable to the bright Negro and low IQ middle-class boys) are in such programs. About nine-in-ten of these teenagers definitely expect to graduate from high school, a proportion third among the groups. They were third highest also in the proportions desiring and expecting college. Six-in-ten of the boys and half the girls desire college while 35% of the boys and 22% of the girls expect college. One-in-three of these boys perceive their fathers to be strongly supportive of their attending college; four-in-ten of them so see their mothers. The girls don't see their parents as more supportive than most other groups. Only the low IQ working-class girls perceive less parental support. Between six and seven-in-ten of these boys and girls place themselves in the middle or upper class, about average for the groups. About eight-in-ten see themselves at this class level in the future, a proportion comparable to that of the low IQ middle-class boys and girls. Seventy percent of these boys and half the girls desire professional level occupations. Half the boys and a third of the girls (third highest proportions in both cases) expect occupations at that level. Half the boys expecting professional level occupations see themselves teaching or in engineering, both occupations typical for upward mobile working-class boys. Of the girls expecting professional level occupations, a third expect teaching and another third nursing, again occupations typical of upward mobile working-class girls. Over a third of the girls expect to be housewives ten years after high school. One-in-five of the boys don't know what they will be doing.

Low IQ White Middle-Class Group

The girls rate third behind the High Congruent Status and bright working-class girls in their perceptions of the vigor of time. Although they rate time as slow-weak-feminine, they see it as less so than the other three groups of girls. These boys were the most deviant from the other groups of boys. They rate the present more negative than do most of the other boys and while the future is rated positive it is seen as weak. The boys tended to rate both the present and the future above average on the Vigor dimension but this group rated the present neutral on this dimension and the future in the feminine-weak-slow range.

These boys are apparently under pressure to fulfill the occupational expectations of their class level. Over half are in college prep programs. The girls, on the other hand, are not subject to the same social expectations. Only one-in-five is in such a program. Three-in-five are in commercial programs. These proportions are comparable to those of the other two low IQ groups of girls. The distribution of boys in high school programs is more comparable to the two bright working class groups, white and Negro, while the distribution of the girls in the programs is more comparable to that of the low IQ working-class groups of girls, white and Negro. These boys and girls had the lowest proportions who answered "definitely yes" to the question concerning expectation of graduating from high school. About three-in-four say definitely yes and one-in-twenty say definitely or probably not. About half these boys desire to go to college and less than a quarter definitely expect to go. This is fewer desiring or expecting college than the proportions of the bright working-class boys, white and Negro. Three-in-ten do not expect college. A third of the girls desire college but another third do not desire college, a proportion exceeded only by the low IQ working-class white girls. Fewer than one-in-ten of these girls definitely expect to go to college, the smallest proportion of any group. Over half say probably or definitely not. It seems then that these girls have low educational aspirations. But this is not a recently acquired attitude on their part. The distribution of high school programs selected by them would suggest that their educational aspiration levels had been crystallized before high school. Of course, once having chosen a commercial program, for instance, it would be more difficult to seriously consider college. Even though more of the boys elected the college prep program, the feedback experienced concerning their intellectual ability has apparently discouraged them from aspiring to college in the proportions usually associated with their class level. The parents seem to share this assessment of their capabilities because only about half the parents of the boys were perceived to be strongly (definitely wants and expects college) supportive of their going to college. This is in contrast to the bright middle-class boys who report 80% of their parents to be strongly supportive. The parents of the low IQ middle-class girls appear to share their daughters low level of aspiration. Only one-in-five of the fathers and fewer of the mothers "want and expect" college and a third of the fathers and four-in-ten of the mothers are perceived to either not care or to be discouraging about college attendance.

About three-in-four of these boys and girls place themselves in the middle or upper class and a few more (about eight-in-ten) place themselves at this level in the future. These proportions are somewhat lower than those of the High Congruent Status boys and girls.

Over three-in-four of these boys desire a professional level occupation but fewer than half expect such an occupation. This discrepancy between the desired and expected proportions is the greatest among the groups of boys. Over half of those expecting a professional occupation say doctor or engineering. One-in-ten, the highest among the groups, expect a business career. Over one-in-four, the highest again among all groups, do not know what they will be doing. About half the girls desire a professional level job but only a quarter expect one and 60% of those expect to be teaching. A quarter expect to have a clerical-type job and three-in-ten expect to be housewives. Three-in-twenty (the second highest proportion among the girls) do not know.

Low IQ White Working-class Group

The boys in this group rate time as stronger than do any of the other groups of boys with the exception of the bright Negro boys. The past and present are seen as equally negative and future, though not so negative, is more negative than is true of any other groups. The girls are second to the bright Negro girls in rating time as slow-weak-feminine.

About a third of these boys are in college prep programs, another third in general programs, a fifth in commercial and a tenth in vocational programs. Only the Low Congruent Status boys had fewer in college prep programs. The distribution of programs among the girls was similar to the other two low IQ groups. A fifth are in college prep another fifth are in general and over half in commercial programs. Somewhat less than eight-in-ten of these students definitely expect to graduate from high school, a proportion comparable to the Low Status Congruent boys and girls but slightly higher than that of the low IQ middle-class boys and girls. This group has the lowest proportions desiring college and about the lowest proportions definitely expecting college. About half the boys and seven-in-ten of the girls, more than the other boys and girls do not expect college (answer probably or definitely not). The proportion of parents seen as supportive of going to college is comparable to that of the Low Status Congruent boys and is the lowest among the boys. Among the girls, only 6% perceive their father as very supportive and only 14% so perceive their mother. These are the lowest proportions of parents seen as very supportive of their daughters. The daughters see half the fathers and four-in-ten of the mothers as either not caring or as discouraging.

Some of the boys apparently expect some social mobility. Six-in-ten presently identify with the middle upper class while three-in-four expect this level in the future. This proportion is the second lowest among the boys. The Low Status Congruent groups had fewer expecting this class level. The girls had the same proportion expecting middle or upper class positions in the future but had more identifying with that level at present. In general, the girls were somewhat more generous in assigning their present class level than were the boys. The difference between these boys and girls, however, was considerable (82% to 59%). Why significantly more of these girls than boys should indicate identification with the higher status levels is not clear. This high placement may reflect defensiveness on the part of many of the girls in this group.

This group had the smallest proportions of boys and girls who desire or expect a professional level occupation. Less than six-in-ten of the boys desire such an occupation and about one-in-three expect one. About a third of the boys expecting professional occupations picked engineering. Fifteen percent expect a craftsman level occupation and one-in-four don't know. Four-in-ten of the girls desire a high level occupation but only about one-in-eight expects such a job. These few largely expect to be either a nurse or a teacher. Almost one-in-five expect clerical or sales jobs and a comparable amount expect service worker jobs. All told, half the girls either don't know (17%) or expect to be housewives (35%).

Low Congruent Status

The girls in this group tended to be intermediate among the others in how weak-slow-feminine they rated time. The boys rated the past as far more negative (unpleasant, bad, unimportant, and not fun) than did any other group, male or female. Like the low IQ working-class and bright Negro boys, they rate the future as affectively neutral. The other three groups of boys, and all groups of girls rated the future positive. Like the low IQ middle-class boys they tended to rate time as average on the vigor dimension or toward the feminine side of the dimension. The future for them is perceived as not only not positive, but as not strong either.

The distribution of high school programs selected by the girls of this group, as mentioned before, was comparable to those of the other two low IQ groups. Fewer boys of this group than any other group are in college prep programs (14%). They have the most in vocational programs (about one in four). A third are in general and a fourth in commercial programs. Three-in-four of the boys definitely expect to graduate from high school. Somewhat more of the girls expect to complete high school (82%). Half of the boys and a third of the girls desire college but only a fifth of the boys and a seventh of the girls definitely expect college. These proportions for the boys tend to fall between those of the low IQ middle-class and the low IQ working class boys, the latter with the lowest proportions. The proportions of these girls desiring and expecting college tend to be slightly greater than those of the other two low IQ groups of girls. The proportions of these boys perceiving strong parental support for going to college are low and are comparable to those of the low IQ white working-class boys. The proportions of the parents of the girls seen as strongly supportive are also low but greater than those reported by the other two groups of low IQ groups of girls. In addition these girls report far fewer of their fathers (23%) and mothers (10%) to be not caring or to be discouraging than is true for any groups other than the bright Negro and High Congruent Status girls.

Fewer of these boys and girls than any others expect to be in the middle or upper class in the future (about six-in-ten). Fewer of the boys in this group than any other group answered don't know about expected occupation. Close to half said they expected a professional level occupation, a proportion comparable to the low IQ middle-class boys but greater than that of the low IQ white working-class boys. One-in-ten of these boys expect to be teachers, another one-in-ten expect to be craftsmen. Fewer of the girls of this group said they desired a professional level occupation (39%) than any other group of girls but over a quarter (more than the other two groups of low IQ girls) say they expect such an occupation. Most of these girls expect nursing or education. One-in-eight expect service work, a fifth expect clerical work and another fifth expect to be housewives.

Some Themes

We have been looking at what the groups of boys and girls have done and expect to do about their future. We have found that being white, bright, and middle class makes a difference that is more than an arithmetic difference in comparison with others of our typology. This difference is reflected not only in their aspirations and expectations but in the perceived support and encouragement of their parents.

These boys, however, share with the other males a much greater concern about the future than is true of the girls. The girls, in comparison, seem to approach the future with much greater tranquility. The boys are concerned, have more doubts and uncertainty, and also experience more pressure than the girls.

If one could chose to be ensured of only one of the attributes of our typology, then he would be wise to chose to be bright. The bright working-class and Negro youth tend to have higher aspirations than the less bright working-class boys and girls and a much greater opportunity of realizing them.

To be middle-class but low IQ seems a very difficult position indeed, more for the boys than the girls. The aspirations and expectations of such girls, and indeed the attitudes of her parents are comparable to those of low IQ girls in general. Actually, these girls seem less oriented to academic and occupational achievement than other low IQ girls. However, she can do this, with little if any personal strain. Her educational and occupational achievement or failure matter little to her. But such is not the case for these boys. Not only is their educational and occupational success important to them in the sense they are important to all males, but in addition, they have the problem of maintaining a class position which is more problamatical for them than any other of our groups, boys or girls. Although we find them in college prep programs and aspiring to high level occupations and college, we also find them not expecting so much; the educational setting, it would seem, has provided them with a discouraging prognosis concerning their future.

CHAPTER 5

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS IN THE SCHOOL SETTING

The here and now of every day interaction is the context where attitudes and values are reinforced. The feedback of success and failure, of acceptance and rejection defines self-worth and self-chances. In this chapter we review the data on the reciprocality of relationship and evaluation between students and teachers, between students and their working setting, the school. We begin with the attitudes of the students toward their teachers and school, and then assess the teachers' perceptions of the students.

Attitude toward Teachers

The respondents were presented with five paired items and asked to pick which of each pair best described their teachers. The five pairs were: friendly-unfriendly, strict-easy, fair-unfair, interested-uninterested, and understanding-not understanding. An index score was computed based on the total number of positive endorsements. The N's for some groups are reduced because a case was dropped if any of the five items was not responded to.

In general, the girls feel somewhat more positive toward teachers than the boys (Table 46). The Low Congruent Status girls were the least positive and most negative. If we consider those girls who were so-so or negative in their attitudes, the proportions range from 19% negative of the High Status girls to 42% of the Low Status group. The data for the boys does not replicate that of the girls. There was little difference in attitudes among the

TABLE 46
Attitude Toward Teachers by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Very Positive (5)[a]	55%	59%	53%	28%	46%	47%	34%	45%
Positive (4)	26	22	19	30	20	26	27	25
So-So (3)	11	9	18	19	20	15	19	15
Negative (0-2)	8	10	10	23	14	12	20	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(73)	(111)	(92)	(43)	(80)	(114)	(70)	(20)

TABLE 47
Attitude Toward Teachers by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Very Positive (5)[a]	40%	63%	54%	56%	30%	50%	28%	44%
Positive (4)	27	20	18	20	52	21	36	6
So-So (3)	13	8	18	16	9	15	16	31
Negative (0-2)	20	9	10	8	9	14	20	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(15)	(95)	(61)	(25)	(23)	(87)	(50)	(16)

---

[a] The five items comprising the index were friendly-unfriendly, strict-easy, fair-unfair, interested-uninterested, and understanding-not understanding. The Index Score represents the number of positive endorsements of "teachers in your school."

groups. The High Status boys had somewhat more who gave so-so or negative endorsements (34%) than High Incongruents (27%). The Low Status Incongruents had the fewest with very positive attitudes and the most with so-so or negative scores (39%).

Among the Incongruent groups, (Table 47) the bright working-class Negro and white groups express more positive feelings than the Incongruent Status groups. This is true for both sexes. Again, more girls than boys in each group rate the teachers as very positive. The bright Negro boys seem either to rate the teachers very positive (44%) or to be quite rejective.

These data are based on the Semantic Differential analysis. Overall, "school teacher" tends to be seen by these youth as difficult (tough-going, frightening) as somewhat lacking vigor (feminine, weak, slow) and affectively negative (Table 48). There is a sex difference with the boys seeing the teacher as more affectively negative than the girls. The Low Incongruent Status girls and boys rate the teacher most negatively. When we turn to the comparison of the incongruent groups (Table 49) we find that the low IQ boys rate the teacher the most negative affectively while the bright working-class Negro groups rated the teacher the most positively and also see the teacher to be less difficult, tough-going, frightening then the other incongruent groups.

Factor Scores for Attitudes toward School

"School" tends, overall, to be viewed as affectively neutral by these youths (Table 50). They also see school as somewhat weak but difficult. In the latter two respects the concept of

TABLE 48
The Meaning of School Teachers by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	45	50	48	46	47	45	44	41	45	4.6
Difficulty	53	54	53	53	53	53	55	53	51	1.0
Vigor	47	47	48	48	48	46	46	46	48	1.3
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 49
The Meaning of School Teachers by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	50	48	44	51	43	44	40	47	4.5
Difficulty	54	53	53	52	55	54	53	51	1.0
Vigor	49	47	48	47	46	46	46	49	0.6
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

TABLE 50
The Meaning of School by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	51	54	55	53	55	57	49	48	51	6.6
Difficulty	54	55	53	55	52	55	57	55	50	3.7
Vigor	47	47	46	46	46	48	46	50	49	3.3
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 51
The Meaning of School by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	52	54	52	58	46	50	46	52	7.7
Difficulty	56	53	56	52	59	56	57	51	3.6
Vigor	46	46	45	48	45	47	48	53	3.7
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

school is comparable to that of school teacher; however, school teachers is seen as quite negative in comparison to school as an institution.

The girls view school in much more positive terms than do the boys, but they also see it to be weaker (perhaps less threatening?).

Again, it is the Low Incongruent Status groups which have the lowest scores on the Evaluative dimension, and it is the Low Status group which have the lowest scores on the Difficulty dimension.

We find comparability between the concepts of teacher and school when we turn to the attitudes of the status incongruence groups (Table 51). It is the low IQ white boys and girls who have the lowest scores on the Evaluative dimension and the bright lower-class Negro students who have the most positive attitudes. For both sexes we find the bright Negroes see the school most favorably while the low IQ middle-class and lower-class students see it least favorably.

We find comparable patterns for the two sexes with respect to the differences on their Difficulty scores. The low IQ middle-class boys and girls see the school as most different while the bright Negroes rate it least. The bright Negro students have the highest Vigor scores for school and the Negro boys have the highest potency score for teacher. This may be because school teaching is so salient as an avenue for upward mobility for Negro youth, particularly for Negro males.

Teacher Perceptions of Students

The students who made up the sample for the study were drawn

TABLE 52
Nominations by Teachers of Those from Class Most Characterized by Certain Behaviors and Attributes by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Power and Influence								
Greatest	36%	28%	23%	11%	38%	18%	10%	26%
Least	16	17	27	14	14	23	26	21
Competent, Expert								
Most	37	34	16	8	38	22	12	13
Least	16	14	29	19	7	22	30	19
Cooperative								
Most	32	30	22	14	39	28	20	17
Least	11	16	16	14	16	20	30	9
Popular								
Most	29	30	22	14	35	21	16	21
Least	18	14	18	8	8	20	21	19
Attractive								
Most	31	36	15	14	39	20	17	15
Least	19	14	20	12	17	19	28	11
Friendly								
Most	31	31	19	12	38	20	16	26
Least	18	16	22	14	14	18	25	11
Poise								
Most	29	33	19	15	35	19	17	21
Least	14	15	25	15	11	23	30	13
Achievers								
Over-	14	16	15	10	14	8	10	6
Under-	19	18	14	15	20	17	17	11
Outgoing-Withdrawn								
Outgoing	31	30	19	11	42	18	15	26
Withdrawn	16	26	24	16	14	29	29	17
Others								
Helpful	32	27	20	15	39	17	14	21
Disciplinary Problem	14	12	12	11	20	11	22	17
Probable Trouble with Police	11	8	12	9	10	8	20	13
	(62)	(118)	(104)	(80)	(71)	(142)	(96)	(53)

TABLE 53
Nominations by Teachers of Those from Class Most Characterized by Certain Behaviors and Attributes by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Power and Influence								
Greatest	6%	32%	14%	45%	11%	20%	9%	14%
Least	29	16	36	13	32	21	28	14
Competent, Expert								
Most	18	35	8	39	18	24	10	23
Least	35	10	38	13	21	21	36	14
Cooperative								
Most	24	31	19	36	29	28	15	36
Least	24	16	19	6	21	18	34	14
Popular								
Most	12	32	11	42	18	22	12	23
Least	18	13	23	6	25	20	24	9
Attractive								
Most	41	34	11	23	11	23	15	14
Least	18	14	20	13	21	18	28	27
Friendly								
Most	12	34	11	36	18	20	16	18
Least	24	16	23	16	11	20	28	9
Poise								
Most	12	35	12	36	14	20	13	23
Least	35	12	30	13	21	24	31	23
Achievers								
Over-	12	16	11	29	14	6	8	23
Under-	24	16	14	13	7	19	12	23
Outgoing-Withdrawn								
Outgoing	6	33	16	26	11	19	15	9
Withdrawn	41	25	28	16	29	29	28	41
Others								
Helpful	24	28	14	32	7	20	8	27
Disciplinary Problem	12	12	11	6	14	10	25	4
Probable Trouble with Police	12	8	9	13	0	9	22	9
	(17)	(97)	(64)	(31)	(28)	(109)	(67)	(22)

Code for Column Headings:

	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
IQ	Low	High	Low	High
Class	MC	WC	WC	WC
Race	White	White	White	Negro

from the schools as intact classrooms. It was therefore possible to present to their teachers the class roster and ask for behavior ratings of the students (See Appendix G for the instrument). There was always at least one teacher who was acquainted with everyone in the group. Since there was no particular interest in specific behavioral ratings on each student the teacher was asked merely to select the two or three boys and two or three girls from the group who were most characterized by certain behaviors and attributes. In most cases, the teacher was asked to nominate those who were highest and lowest on the dimension (for example, most and least cooperative). The twelve sets of teacher ratings are presented in Tables 52 and 53. The percentages presented represent the proportion of the group nominated for the positive or negative end of the behavioral dimension. In three cases, only the positive aspect was requested. For example, among the two or three boys in the class seen by their teacher to have the greatest power and influence with peers were 38% of the High group; 14% were among the two or three perceived to have the least power and influence. The other 48% were not seen either way. Because of the manner in which the data were obtained, possible sex differences were ruled out, i.e., the teacher was asked to select three boys and three girls.

The pattern of evaluation for the two sexes is similar but with interesting differences. In general, for the girls, there is a direct relationship between status level and positive evaluation. Two to four and a half as many of the High as Low Status were seen to have more power and influence, greater competence, to be more cooperative, more popular, more attractive, more friendly, to be more outgoing, and more helpful. The ratings for over-and under-achievement did not follow this pattern for either sex and will be discussed later.

One would tend to expect the proportions of the groups nominated as having the least (power, uncooperative, unpopular, etc.) of the attributes to vary inversely with status. Such, however, was not the case. There was a tendency, instead, for more of the Low Incongruent Status girls to be characterized as having little power, least competent, most unattractive, least friendly, and least poise. More of both Incongruent Status groups of girls were seen as uncooperative and as withdrawn. Only 8% of the Low Status girls were rated most unpopular, as contrasted to twice as many High Status girls. Perhaps fewer "have anything against" the more quiet withdrawn girls. There was a very slight tendency for status to be directly associated with being nominated as a "disciplinary problem" and no great differences in "probable trouble with the police".

When we turn to the boys, we find the same direct association with status and the proportion of the group rated as having the "most" of the attribute (e.g., competent, cooperative, attractive), but in several cases, the Low Status group was evaluated more positively than the Incongruent Status groups. For example, the Lows fell intermediate between the Highs and the Incongruent groups on positive evaluations of power, popular, friendly, poise, outgoing, and helpful.

Turning to the negative evaluations we find in every case that both the Incongruent groups of boys have higher proportions of negative ratings and that in nearly all instances, the Low Incongruents are the most negatively evaluated. More of the Low Incongruent boys were seen as candidates for "trouble with the police" (20%) and more were also seen as disciplinary problems but, surprisingly, almost as many Highs were also selected (20%). Fewest of the High Status boys were picked as powerless, incompetent, unpopular, no poise, and withdrawn. Fewest of the Lows were seen as uncooperative, unattractive, and unfriendly.

Finally, comparing the patterns for the sexes reveals that the proportion of High Status boys positively evaluated was in excess of the proportion of High Status girls by one to eleven percentage points. And the same is true when comparing the Low Status Congruents. A higher proportion of the Low Status boys are rated positively by one to fifteen percentage points. Also, in general, a greater proportion of High Status girls than boys were selected as representing the negative pattern. There was a comparable but more modest sex difference trend with the Low Status Congruents. In addition to more Low Status boys being seen as disciplinary problems and as in probable trouble with police, more also were seen as powerless and as unpopular. It should be noted that the higher proportion of males being designated disciplinary problem or in probable trouble with police is partly due to the fact that fewer females were nominated for these categories.

The High Incongruent Status girls are seen in a very favorable light compared with the High Incongruent Status boys (two to sixteen percentage points difference). With a single exception (attractive), the same is true of the Low Incongruent Status girls. The High Incongruent Status boys are seen in a relatively negative light in comparisons with the girls on the negative evaluations (two to eight points difference) and a similar difference is noted in the case of the Low Incongruent Status boys as compared to the girls (with the exception of powerlessness). So we have the interesting pattern of the Congruent Status boys being seen more favorably than the Congruent Status girls, while the converse is true with respect to the incongruent statuses groups where the girls are more positively perceived.

Now for a look at the achievement ratings before turning to the detailed data for the different Incongruent Status groups. In general, for both sexes, the relationship between status and the proportion seen as overachievers and underachievers was positive. The fewest Lows (8%) are seen as over-achievers and also the fewest (13%) are seen as under-achievers. The comparable proportions for the High Congruent Status group are 14% and 20% respectively. What can we make of this? In the first place, it was probably somewhat easier for the teacher to pick out possible under-achievers. Seventeen percent of the total sample were so selected compared with 12% picked as over-achievers. It will be recalled that the teachers were asked to pick two or three. They tended to pick three as under-achievers and two as over-achievers. It seems likely that given an uneven performance, one would assume better performance to be evidence of what one was capable of and rate inferior performances as examples of underachievement, rather than to see the better performances as evidence of over-achievement.

From other data (not presented here) it was found that teachers tend to rate more of those in the very middle of the class range as over-achievers and the brighter youth as over-achievers. They tended, on the other hand, to rate as under-achievers more of the upper middle-class youth and the middle intelligence range teenagers. It was also found that there was no relationship between these ratings and an actual index of relative achievement. It would seem, then, that the teacher was comparing actual (not relative) achievement with his or her expectations. That is, it was expected that those with high status would achieve more. Since they did not all do that well, many were seen as under-achievers -- under-achievers in the sense of doing less well than expected relative to social class, not relative to IQ. And conversely, since the higher social classes would be expected to do well, those from the middle ranges who did well would be seen as overachieving.

We will now turn to an examination of the findings for the incongruent groups presented in Table 53. The data about the girls will be discussed first. The Low Congruent Status girls and the low IQ working-class white girls were similar and lowest in frequency of being rated positively (about one-in-eight being positively selected). On the other hand, the bright middle-class girls were selected as often or more often as the High Congruent Status girls (about one-in-three being selected on the average over the nine categories of positive characteristics). Actually more of the Incongruent upward mobile group was picked for five of the nine categories. The bright Negro girls are even more often selected as being characterized by the positive attributes in six of the nine comparisons with the High Congruent Status girls.

In general there was a tendency for the attributes to be related in that there were similarities in the pattern of proportions of each group selected over categories. The bright Negro and working-class girls and the High Congruent Status girls were frequently selected and the Low Status and low IQ working-class girls were infrequently selected. This constancy was not, however, characteristic of the low IQ middle-class girls. For instance, more of this group than any other were selected as attractive (41%); on the other hand, fewest were picked as having influence or being out-going (6%).

Let's turn to the negative evaluations. We might expect, in general, that these results should be the mirror image of those already discussed. However, it is possible that the same subgroup may be characterized by more of both the positive and negative aspects of the same dimension.

It is the Low Incongruent boys and girls who are most frequently seem to represent the negative evaluations. Starting with the data from the girls, we find the low IQ middle-class and working-class teenagers receive the most negative evaluations from the teacher.

It is interesting to note that more of the High Congruent Status than the Low Status girls were picked as unpopular (18% to 8%) and as unattractive (19% to 12%). Overall the two status Congruent groups and the bright working-class girls are quite comparable.

We turn now to the data on the Incongruent Status boys. It will be recalled that, with respect to the positive attributes, they tended to be ordered in frequency in one of two orders -- High Status, High Incongruence, Low Incongruence, and Low Status (as were the girls) or High Status, Low Status, then the High and Low Incongruence groups at the bottom. As we look in detail at the incongruent status subgroups the first thing that stands out, in contrast to the girls, is the consistently high positive evaluations of the High Status boys, compared with all the rest. On the other hand, the low IQ middle and lower-class boys tended to be generally under chosen as positive choices.

All four incongruent groups are seen as less friendly and out-going than either the High Congruent or Low Congruent Status groups.

The bright white and Negro working-class boys and the low congruent status boys fall intermediate between the High Status boys and the other two incongruent groups with respect to positive evaluations by the teachers. Among these three groups the Low Status boys were rated as having more social influence and were seen as more out-going. More of the bright Negro boys were seen as cooperative but fewer of them were seen as having power, or as being attractive or as outgoing.

Turning now to the data on negative evaluation, the low IQ lower-class white boys are apparently seen overwhelmingly to possess the most negative attributes. Over one-in-five of these youth were picked for "probable trouble with police" and one-in-four as a disciplinary problem. In the latter case, the High

Status boys were a surprising second with 20%. The lowest number picked as troublesome were from the two high IQ incongruent groups.

Fewest High Status boys were selected for negative ratings with the Low Status boys close to them. The bright Negro boys were also underchosen for negative evaluation. It is of interest that all incongruent groups were seen to be characterized as being withdrawn (from 28 to 41%) in contrast to the relatively fewer picked from the two Congruent Status groups (14-17%).

In comparison with the bright Negro boys, the bright white boys were seen as unfriendly and unpopular. More of the bright Negroes were seen as unattractive and socially withdrawn.

We have two final ways of examining the data of Tables 50 and 51 to supplement what we have discussed so far. We can look at the sums and differences of the ratings of most and least on all the behavioral dimensions.

Looking at the difference scores of the girls first, the bright Negro girls had all positive differences when subtracting the percentage of "Leasts" from the "Mosts." In fact, theirs were the greatest positive differences in every instance (except on attractiveness and outgoing where the High Congruent Status girls were slightly higher).

The bright working-class white girls were also plus for all differences but not to the same extent. Their differences were comparable to the bright Negro girls on ratings of competence, friendliness, poise, and outgoing.

The High Congruent Status girls were next, with all differences plus, but smaller in magnitude except for the rating of outgoingness.

The negative difference scores are largely for the low IQ lower and middle-class girls. These scores are more negative than the Low Status girls. These difference scores were generally close to zero.

A brief look at the summed scores reveals mean totals of the two scores as follows for the girls: bright white working-class, 48.5%; High Congruent Status, 48%; bright Negro, 47%; low IQ middle-class, 44%; low IQ working-class, 40%; and Low Status, 26%. Note the very low proportion of the Low Status group that is mentioned at all, either positively or negatively.

A brief review of the difference scores for the boys reveals the for the low IQ working-class white boys all the difference scores were negative and, with and exception of two, the largest negative differences of any group. Their negative scores were somewhat more extreme than was the case with the girls in the same category.

The High Incongruent boys had the greatest excess of those with positive difference scores, from 22% to 31% more for every category. They clearly stood out from their peers for the teacher rates. They were clearly in a class by themselves which was not true of the High Status girls.

The three remaining groups fall between the High Status group on the one hand the low IQ working-class and middle-class groups on the other extreme. It is interesting to note the Low Congruent Status group tends to have the second highest positive differences for all the categories.

Finally, and briefly, the average sums of the mosts and leasts for the eight categories were: High Congruent Status, 51%; bright working-class boys, 43.5%; low IQ working-class white boys, 43%; low IQ middle-class white and bright Negro boys, 39%; and Low Congruent Status, 36%. Note that the Low Status group again appeared to be the least visible in that fewer were picked as being especially characterized by either the positive or the negative attributes.

Summary

In the previous chapter we examined some findings concerning what these teenagers feel, think, and are doing about the future. In this chapter, we considered the current setting in which they are developing these attitudes and cognitions about themselves. We were interested in how these youth regarded the school and how, in turn, they were regarded by the school.

We found that more of the girls than boys, when rating the behaviors of the teachers, rate them friendly, easy (rather than strict), fair, interested, and understanding. More girls than boys, in all but one of the six groups, felt very positive about their teachers. When we consider the girls who see their teachers lacking two or more of the above attributes, we find the proportions increase with decreasing status. The evaluative scores of the concepts School and Teacher confirmed the sex difference in attitude. The girls in every group had higher affective scores than did the boys.

Overall, the concept Teacher and the concept School are seen to be toward the low end of the Vigor dimension, to be somewhat weak-slow-feminine. Both are high on the Difficulty dimension; they are seen as tough-going, difficult, perhaps frightening. On the attitudinal or Evaluative dimension they are seen differently. Interestingly enough, school is regarded more positively than the agents of the school, the teachers. The school evaluative score places it slightly above the mean but the Teacher score is quite negative. Only one other concept (Influence, to have power over others) of the fifteen included in this part of the study was rated more negatively. Is school regarded in the more favorable light because these youth have internalized the social norms valueing education and value School as an institution which supports these norms? And is the school teacher regarded as a less than ideal agent to represent these norms?

It is the girls, again, who more favorably regard the school. They rate it quite positively while the ratings of the boys average slightly below the mean. This difference was true for all six of the groups of boys and girls.

We find also over the six groups of boys and six groups of girls, that their Difficulty scores are negatively correlated with the Evaluative and Vigor scores, which are uncorrelated with each other. It seems that the more demanding the school is seen, either the more negative it is experienced affectively or the weaker or more feminine it is seen. Conversely, the less demanding it is seen to be, the more positive the evaluation or the greater the vigor seen. The rank-order correlation between the Difficulty scores and the combined Evaluation and Vigor scores was -.84 (P = .01, N = 12).

We find, then, that the school and the teacher are regarded by the boys and girls as demanding but lacking somewhat is strength and that teachers seem to be regarded less favorably than school. The girls are significantly more positive in their attitudes toward school and teacher than are the boys.

This gives us an idea of how the school and the teacher are viewed by these teenagers. Now, how are they, in turn, viewed by the teachers? It was thought that if we asked the teachers to pick the few boys and girls from their classrooms who best represented certain attributes, positive and negative, that we would find them tending to select those with more of the status advantages as having the positive attributes and more of those with lower status as possessing the negative attributes. In part, this is what they did. But it was more complicated than that and the findings for the boys and girls are quite different.

In general, for the girls, the teachers did indicate a strong association between status and positive personal attributes but when we turned to the findings for the incongruent groups we found the other two bright groups of girls just as highly regarded, if not more so in some instances. The low IQ white middle- and working-class girls were overwhelmingly picked as being characterized by the negative attributes. The teachers, when rating the girls, appear to be reacting to IQ, (or the effects of IQ) rather than the other status dimensions.

A question which might be raised is whether there is an association between how the teacher views the students and how the students view the teacher. In this case, there is an association, though not a perfect one. It was the three high IQ groups of girls who had the highest Evaluative scores for the concept School Teacher.

We have suggested that the school experience and the meaning of school must be quite different for the boys. We suspect also that their place on the three dimensions making up our typology is of more significance for them than for the girls and the combinations result in different effects. We find that the teacher is responding to more than IQ (or its effects) when rating the boys. The High Congruent Status boys clearly stand out from the rest in the proportions seen as having the positive Personal attributes. Among the groups of boys there is no close second group. The low IQ white working-class boys are seen to have the fewest representing the positive attributes and by far the most representing the negative attributes. The low IQ middle-class boys are seldom selected as representing the positive attributes.

When we compare the teacher ratings of students and the student ratings of the teacher, we again find some association. The two groups regarded least favorably by the teacher likewise rate the teacher least favorably. On the other hand, considering the high esteem in which they are held by the teacher, the High Congruent Status boys appear relatively crucial. They do not stand out as having an especially positive attitude toward teachers compared with such groups as the Low Congruent Status and bright working-class white and Negro boys.

A rough ranking of the groups of boys in terms of how favorably they tend to be regarded by the teacher would be something as follows: High Congruent Status as clear first; the bright working-class white and Negro boys and the Low Congruent Status boys clustered in second; then the low IQ middle-class boys followed by the low IQ working-class group. Among the girls, the three bright groups cluster at the top, followed by the Low Congruent Status girls, with the low IQ middle-class and working-class girls, in that order, at the bottom. We shall now discuss each of the groups separately.

High Congruent Status

Over half these girls rate their teachers very positively (have all the characteristics rated) and only one-in-five see them as collectively to lack as many as two of the five characteristics. The boys are both less positive and more critical. Somewhat fewer than half are very positive in their ratings and a third are in the critical range. Both the boys and girls, compared with the others, are generally positive but not the most positive in their evaluation of their teachers.

These boys and girls are also positive, but not the most positive, in their attitude toward school. Compared with the other groups, they are about average in how demanding and in how weak they view school. Neither school nor teacher appear to represent the impact, positive or negative, that they do for some other groups.

These boys are so highly regarded by their teachers that there is little one can say in summary. More of them are seen to have the positive attributes, fewer are nominated as representing the negative attributes, the excess of those with the positive over those seen to represent the negative attribute is greatest, and more of these boys are selected whatever the positive category.

These High Congruent Status girls tended to be compared with the other two bright groups because the girls in all three of these groups tended to be selected with higher frequencies as having the positive attributes. It is interesting that fewer of these girls are seen as having considerable power and influence with their peers than was true of the bright Negro girls. For no category were more of these girls picked than some other group of girls. Likewise, in no instance were fewer picked as characterized by the negative attribute. As a matter of fact, more of these girls than all other groups except the low IQ middle- and working-class girls were seen as unpopular, unattractive, and as unfriendly (close to one-in-five).

Overall, then, these girls tend to be regarded positively by their teachers but not more positively than the other bright girls.

Bright Negro Group

These boys and girls rate their teachers very positively in about the same proportions as the High Congruent Status boys and girls. However, more rate their teachers as lacking at least two of the favorable attributes (one-in-four of the girls and half the boys).

These boys and girls had the highest Evaluative scores for school compared with the other groups of boys and girls. They tended to see school as less tough or frightening than the other groups (except the Low Congruent Status boys and girls) and tended to attribute to it greater strength. These boys were the only group to have a Vigor score above the mean.

These girls stood out, in most respects, from the other groups of bright girls in the ratings of the teachers. However, fewer were picked by the teacher as attractive or as outgoing compared with the High Congruent Status and bright working-class girls. Fewer of these girls than any other group of girls were picked as uncooperative or unpopular (only 6%).

Relatively few of the boys were picked as having power and influence with their peers and a like number were picked as conspicuously lacking power. Few of these boys were picked as lacking competence, as being uncooperative, unfriendly, or as unpopular. Several were picked as unattractive, lacking poise, and as withdrawn or shy and introverted. More of these boys than any other group of boys were selected as introverted (four-in-ten). Several were selected as being helpful and cooperative. Relatively few as being attractive, and fewest (less than one-in-ten) as being extroverted, outgoing.

The contrast in how these boys and girls are regarded by the teachers is considerable. The girls stand out relatively sharply from the other girls. The boys, although being seen as relatively competent, friendly, helpful, cooperative, and popular, are seen also to be withdrawn, to lack poise, and to be unattractive.

Bright White Working-Class Group

This group of boys and girls were the most positive of all groups in their attitude toward their teachers. They were moderately positive, compared with the others, in their attitude toward school. They did not tend to view school as either stronger or weaker than the others. The boys rated the school as more difficult, frightening, tough, than did the girls.

The proportions of these girls picked for the positive categories were comparable to those of the High Congruent Status girls. Among the negative categories, two stand out. Fewer of these girls than any other group (one-in-ten) were picked as incompetent while quite a few (one-in-four) were picked as withdrawn.

The boys don't stand out particularly in the proportions of those nominated for the positive or the negative attributes. They tended to have either the most nor the least chosen, and tended to have as many chosen for the positive as for the negative categories (which was also true of the bright Negro and Low Congruent Status boys). More were seen as cooperative than uncooperative and more were seen as withdrawn than outgoing.

Low Status Congruent Group

These boys tend to rate their teachers relatively high. The girls, however, do not. Only three-in-ten saw their teachers as having all five of the positive attributes rated and over four-in-ten saw them lacking at least two. Both the boys and girls seem to have a positive attitude toward the school, their Evaluative scores tended to be high, though not highest. These boys and girls, along with the bright Negroes, tend to see the school as relatively less difficult, frightening, tough, than do the others. The boys view the school as somewhat less weak-slow-feminine than do the girls.

These girls were not often picked for the positive categories by their teachers, but neither were they picked for the negative ones in large numbers. It was more that they tended not to be picked. On the average, hardly more than a fourth were picked for the positive and negative categories combined which isn't many considering that the three bright groups averaged a third being picked for just the positive categories. In general, then, it seems this group of girls appear generally undistinquished and unnoticed. In fact, only about half as many of these girls as the other two groups of low IQ girls were selected as lacking competence.

In contrast, the boys do stand out. They had the second highest proportion picked as having influence, as being friendly and extroverted. It will be recalled that the bright Negro boys had few chosen as having influence and the fewest selected as extroverted. However, relatively few were seen as competent, cooperative, and attractive. In no case were a great number picked for the negative categories. In two instances, uncooperative and unattractive, the fewest were selected (about one-in-ten). It may be recalled that over a quarter of the bright Negro boys were selected as unattractive. The only category for which more of these boys were picked for the negative end was competence. More were seen as friendly, poised, outgoing, and cooperative, than were selected for the negative end of the dimension. Relatively fewer of these boys, compared with the other boys, were picked for any category, positive, or negative. However, they were not so invisible as the girls, over a third were selected, on the average.

Though we found a sex difference in the attitudes of these boys and girls toward their teachers, we find it reflected also in the attitudes of the teachers toward them. The boys are regarded relatively positively and so they regard their teachers relatively positively. The girls seem to have the most negative attitude toward the teachers and the teachers ignore or express no attitudes toward these girls.

Low IQ Middle-Class Group

These girls were second only to the Low Congruent Status girls in the low proportion attributing all five of the positive characteristics to their teachers. The boys were second only to the low IQ white working-class boys in this respect. These boys and girls, then, seem to regard the teachers somewhat negatively.

Their relatively negative attitude toward the teacher is parallel in their attitude toward the school. These boys and girls, along with the low IQ white working-class boys and girls, have the lowest Evaluative scores for the concept school. The girls rate the school only slightly positive while the boys rate it quite negative. These boys see the school as weaker than does any other group of boys and see it as more difficult-frightening-tough going than does any other group of boys. The girls rate it as less tough but along with the low IQ working-class girls among the groups of girls see school as toughest. They also view the school as weak.

These girls and the low IQ working-class girls tended to have the most picked for all negative categories. Especially large numbers of these girls were seen as lacking poise and as being introverted. Very few of these girls were seen as having influence with their peers or as being extroverted (6%). However, average proportions were seen as competent, cooperative, and helpful. The single category for which more of these girls were selected than any other group was Attractive (over four-in-ten). When we compare the positive with the negative percentages, we find this is the only category for which more were picked as being characterized by the positive attribute. The largest negative difference was the proportion of Intorverted.

The boys had the fewest picked as helpful or as attractive, or as extroverted. Along with the low IQ working-class boys they had very few picked as having influence or as having poise. However, three-in-ten were seen as cooperative. More of these boys than any other group were picked as having little influence with peers and over a quarter were picked as unpopular and introverted. Quite a few more of these boys were seen as lacking as having power, and many more were seen as introverted than extroverted. The only instances wherein more were picked for the positive attribute was cooperative and friendly.

These boys and girls appear to have in common being seen as being powerless and in being introverted. Their negative view of teachers seems parallel with how the teachers view them. The most striking aspect of the data for the girls is the very high proportion picked as very attractive.

Low IQ Working-Class Group

These boys have the most negative attitude toward the teacher. So do the girls so far as their Evaluative score for the concept Teacher is concerned. However, their rating of the attributes of their teachers places them as about average. Both the boys and the girls regard the school as negative compared with the others (they were comparable to the low IQ middle-class boys and girls in this respect). Also, like the low IQ middle-class group they tend to see the school as tough. These girls rate the school as weaker than does any other group of girls. So, overall, these boys and girls seem to regard the school and teachers negatively and to view school as tough or frightening and, for the girls anyway, as weak or feminine.

These boys and girls, overall, seem to be regarded by their teachers least favorably. More of these girls than any other group of girls were seen as lacking power, as lacking competence, as unpopular, and as unattractive. They had the second highest proportions seen as uncooperative, unfriendly, as lacking poise and as introverted. They had the fewest or were tied with the fewest picked as being competent, popular, attractive, friendly, having poise, or helpful.

Considerably more of the girls were picked as lacking competence than as having competence. They were on a par with the low IQ middle-class girls in the excess seen as lacking influence, and being unfriendly. They were the only group with more girls picked as unattractive than as attractive. They had the greatest difference of negative minus positive nominations for the categories popular and poise. More are seen as unpopular and lacking poise.

The boys had the fewest picked as competent, as cooperative, as popular, as poised, and as having influence. Fewer than one-in-ten were seen as helpful. This negative picture is seen in even sharper focus when we consider the negative nominations. More of this group of boys than other groups were seen as lacking competence, as uncooperative, as unattractive, as unfriendly, and as lacking poise. They also had the greatest proportions regarded as disciplinary problems and as potentially in trouble with the police. They also had high proportions seen as lacking influence, as being unpopular, and as being introverted.

These boys and girls, then, have the most negative attitude toward the school and teachers and in turn are regarded the most unfavorably by the teachers.

Themes

It was of interest to compare the two sets of attitudes, those of the students toward their teachers and of the teachers toward the students. Congruence was high but not perfect. The congruence was higher in terms of the reciprocation of the more negative evaluations.

We find also that the attitude toward school is more positive than the attitude toward teacher (which tends to be quite negative). However, they are highly correlated and either can be interpreted as an index of a student's feelings about the educational setting. While both are seen as tough, they, teacher and school, are also seen as weak.

We found again a suggestion that in terms of some factors the two congruent groups of boys are closer together than the four incongruent status groups. More of the congruent groups than the other groups were seen to have influence, to be friendly, and to be outgoing. This is the very picture of confidence. On the other hand, fewer of the congruent boys than the other groups were seen as unattractive, lacking poise, or as introverted. Again, a picture consistent with the above. When we look at the differences, positive minus negative nominations, we discover more of the congruent groups than the others with greater positive differences for influence, friendly, poised, and extroverted. This unexpected picture of confidence and acceptance in the Low Congruent Status group is mirrored in their relatively positive attitude teachers and the school.

We noted the differences in how the teachers regarded the boys and girls. In particular, we noted the highly favorable position of the High Congruent Status boys and the relatively inconspicuous picture of the other bright boys. This was in contrast to the girls where the High Congruent Status girls did not stand out from the other groups of bright girls. It seems that for the boys, in a sense, there is no such thing as "second place," while for the girls their position is defined more by whom they are dating, not their position as such.

The school, which seems to serve as an arena for learning one's place, especially for the boys, would seem to be a much more congenial setting for the girls than the boys. This congeniality is reflected in their very positive Evaluative scores for both Teacher and School in contrast to the negative scores for the groups of boys.

Finally, the surprising proportion of the low IQ middle-class girls seen as attractive by their teachers deserves comment. We've noted before some evidence which seemed to suggest that these girls have little interest in educational or occupational success. It would seem that these girls have adapted to their class-IQ incongruence by chosing a solution not open to the boys. They seem to be concentrating on feminity and attractiveness as their means to success as it seems to be defined by them, i.e., successful marriage. If this is true it would seem their prospects of goal attainment are good. The prospects for the boys, however, do not seem good to judge from the trends we have been observing so far.

CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF SELF

It is assumed the perceptions and evaluations of one's significant others (e.g. father), one's opportunity systems (e.g. school, work, teacher) are highly connected with one's perceptions of self. Involvement in one's environment should be closely related to orientations toward and degree of acceptance of self. The reflected self can be inferred to some degree from one's notions concerning the nature of competence and success, from how one prefers to be seen, and from how one feels about whether he has some influence in structuring his life experiences.

Preferred Reputation

The students were asked how they would most like to be remembered in school, as best student, student leader, most popular, or best athlete. As expected, more females than males (about 52% to 37%) prefer to be most popular (Table 54). However, since the students could pick only one of the four alternatives and since best athlete is more of a male than female concern, any sex differences will be difficult to interpret. Comparisons and interpretations of within sex differences can still be made. About one-in-four of the boys selected Best Athlete as their preferred reputation compared with about four percent of the girls. Fewer of the Low Status boys (25% as compared to about 38% of the other boys) chose Most Popular and somewhat more chose Best Athlete (33% to about 24%) as their preferred reputation.

TABLE 54
Preferred High School Reputation by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Popular, well-liked	50%	54%	53%	49%	34%	38%	43%	25%
Best student	37	41	41	37	38	28	35	33
Best athlete	5	3	4	3	21	26	23	33
Leader in student government	8	2	2	11	7	8	9	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(86)	(131)	(116)	(65)	(90)	(146)	(92)	(36)

TABLE 55
Preferred High School Reputation by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Popular, well-liked	63%	53%	63%	31%	28%	40%	48%	20%
Best student	37	41	31	63	34	26	20	40
Best athlete	0	4	5	3	34	25	23	27
Leader in student government	0	2	1	3	4	9	9	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(19)	(108)	(75)	(32)	(29)	(113)	(69)	(15)

In general, of every twenty of our girl students, about ten chose Most Popular, eight chose Best Student, and one each chose Best Athlete and Student Leader. Of every twenty boys, seven or eight pick Most Popular, six or seven Best Student, five Best Athlete, and one or two Student Leader. Note that the order of preference is approximately the same for these teenagers.

Among the Incongruent Status groups of girls, we find in Table 55 that more of the bright Negro (63%) and bright working-class white girls (41%) select Best Student. The bright Negro girls were the only group to have more desiring an alternative other than popularity. Sixty-three percent of the low IQ middle and working-class girls wish to be most popular. This proportion is the highest of all groups. This preference, for the low IQ middle-class girls, fits in well with some of the earlier findings about their apparent concentration on being attractive (and successfully so, according to their teachers). However, also according to the ratings of the teachers, the actual popularity of these girls was not great. They had the fewest who were selected by the teachers as actually most popular and had the most selected as being actually the least popular.

These girls would seem to be experiencing considerable disparity between their preferred and actual status. It might be pointed out that they were somewhat forced into chosing Most Popular because their low skill level largely precluded selection of one of the other three alternatives. On the other hand, it would seem that the four alternatives do, as intended, cover the major types of achieved status open to students within the educational setting.

Among the male Incongruent Status groups, the patterns are somewhat different. More of the bright Negroes select Best Student and also more select Student Leader. However, more of the bright working-class white boys chose being popular over best student (40% to 26% for Best Student). Only the low IQ working-class boys had more picking popularity (48%). The bright Negro boys, like the bright Negro girls, had the fewest of any group chosing popularity as the preferred reputation.

The low IQ middle-class boys have the highest proportion picking Best Athlete (34%, a proportion comparable to the Low Status boys). Compared with the Congruent High Status boys, more of the low IQ middle-class boys pick Best Athlete and fewer pick Student Leader. About a third pick Best Student. In this they fall between the bright Negro and High Status boys on the one hand, and the low IQ and bright working-class boys, on the other.

A note concerning interpreting these preferences. It can be assumed that just about all teenage boys would like to be most popular, top student, best athlete, and a leader all at once. We asked for a preference. An alternative not selected might still be very important.

Fate Control

Much research in recent years has shown that one of the most significant indications of self-evaluation is the individual's ability to influence his own fate. Our respondents were presented with four items which asked about whether they felt they had some or little control over what happens to them. For example, whether they felt their life would work out they way they want it to or not; whether they feel they have mostly good or bad luck; whether their plans work out or not; and whether they feel pushed around or not. Since these items significantly intercorrelate with each other, it was assumed, that they formed a scale. The positive endorsements (good luck, things work out, run own life, and confident) were summed and the total assumed to represent an index of perceived fate control. About a third of the total sample had high Fate Control scores (4 or 3), a third had medium scores (2) and a third had low scores (0,1). The details concerning this index can be found in Appendix F.

One of the implications of higher status, whatever the status dimension, is that the higher the status the greater the access to the resources available and the greater the share of those resources which can be obtained. It should be expected, then, that perceived fate control should vary directly and greatly with our status levels. And so it does (See Table 55). Almost twice as many of the High Congruent Status teenagers have high Fate Control Scores as do the Congruent Low Status youth. It is of interest that the greatest difference between any adjacent status levels occurs between the Congruent Highs and the Incongruent Highs. It seems that being low on any status dimension diminishes considerably one's feeling of control. It is also of interest that there is no sex difference among the High Status Congruents, while at every other status level more of the boys feel they have high control and more of the girls see themselves as having low control.

Among the incongruent status groups, somewhat more of the bright Negro and bright working-class white students have somewhat higher Fate Control scores than do the other incongruent status groups. (See Table 56). But somewhat over half of the bright Negro girls have low scores, also, the greatest proportion of any group. In contrast, fewer of the bright Negro boys have low scores than any other group, male or female (11%). If we examine the proportions having low scores, it can be seen that the two bright male groups have fewer with low scores. If we look at the differences in the proportions of each group with high and low scores, we can order them in terms of relative perceived fate control. The order, with the differences in parentheses, are as follows for the boys: High Congruent Status (24%), bright Negroes (22%), bright white working-class (-3%), low IQ middle-class (-7%), Low Status (-8%), and last, low IQ working-class white (-15%). For the girls, only the High Congruent Status group had a greater proportion with higher scores (26%). Two groups had moderately negative scores, the low IQ middle-class and bright working-class (both -9%). Those with large negative differences were the Low Status girls (-20%), the low IQ working-class girls (-22%), and last the bright Negro girls (-30%).

Personal Conceptions of Competence and Success

Certainly two of the criteria around which personal identity is organized are the conceptions of competence and of success. In our study the students were stimulated to report to open-ended questions which explored their conceptions of these two dimensions.

It was expected that the length of response to the open-ended items would vary and therefore that the number of ideas would

TABLE 56
Perceived Fate Control by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
High	47%	29%	27%	23%	45%	34%	32%	29%
Medium	32	34	24	34	34	30	30	34
Low	21	37	49	43	21	36	38	37
	100% (82)	100% (135)	100% (114)	100% (70)	100% (94)	100% (155)	100% (87)	100% (38)

TABLE 57
Perceived Fate Control by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
High	24%	29%	26%	32%	32%	33%	31%	33%
Medium	43	33	26	16	29	31	23	56
Low	33	38	48	52	39	36	46	11
	100% (21)	100% (110)	100% (74)	100% (31)	100% (31)	100% (119)	100% (65)	100% (18)

vary systematically with certain respondent characteristics. This turned out to be so. The response rate correlated significantly with sex, class, race, and IQ. The students therefore were asked to indicate which of the points made by them in their response was the most important part of their response. These were coded as "major points". Not all respondents indicated which part of their answer was the major point; therefore the N's are reduced somewhat for these comparisons. However, even so, the major point percentages provide a clearer comparative picture of the ideas and feelings of these youth and are the data discussed in this section.

How One Knows He is Good at Something

The students were asked "how people know they are good at something or that they do it well." The major points made by the teenagers in response to this question are presented in Tables 58 and 59. The High Congruent Status boys and girls are more likely to suggest social criteria, that is Judgment by Others (e.g., others tell you, you are praised), Comparison with Others (e.g., you are picked first, are tops for your level), and Standards (e.g., live up to norms, meet expectations). About six-in-ten of the higher status boys and half the girls tended to give such reasons compared with less than four-in-ten fo the Low Congruent Status boys and girls. Inversely associated with status were the more psychological criteria, namely feeling Confident (you "feel" it, you have the "knack") and feeling Involved (you like doing it, you're motivated). About three-in-ten of the Low status girls and somwhat over a third of the boys made such a

TABLE 58
How People Know They Are good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Judgment by Others. Others tell you, people praise, applaud, admire you.	27%	30%	32%	27%	28%	24%	19%	19%
Performance. You have no trouble doing it, don't make mistakes, it works.	29	30	28	33	25	25	35	26
Comparison with Others. You beat others, are tops for your level, are picked first.	19	17	17	11	29	33	22	17
Confident. You "feel" it, you're satisfied, you have the ability.	14	14	12	23	11	11	12	31
Involved. You're interested, motivated, you like doing it.	8	7	11	5	5	4	12	5
Standards. Live up to norms, meet expectations, requirements.	2	0	0	1	2	3	0	2
Other.	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(79)	(129)	(105)	(75)	(89)	(150)	(94)	(42)

TABLE 59
How People Know They Are Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Judgment by Others. Others tell you, people praise, applaud, admire you.	20%	32%	28%	41%	37%	20%	18%	23%
Performance. You have no trouble doing it, don't make mistakes, it works.	30	29	27	28	20	26	38	23
Comparison with Others. You beat others, are tops for your level, are picked first.	25	16	21	10	30	34	20	32
Confident. You "feel" it, you're satisfied, you have the ability.	20	13	16	7	7	12	12	13
Involved. You're interested, motivated, you like doing it.	5	8	8	14	3	5	12	9
Standards. Live up to norms, meet expectations, requirements.	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0
Other.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(20)	(106)	(70)	(29)	(30)	(115)	(66)	(22)

response. The remaining criterion, Performance (it works, you don't make mistakes), was suggested by a fourth to a third of all groups but was unrelated to status.

Even though there were no sex differences at the level the data were discussed above, there were differences associated with status when we examine the particular criterion. The High Congruent Status boys and girls gave about the same proportion of Judgment by Others responses. As we move to the lower status levels, the proportion of girls remains about the same but fewer males make such a response. Overall, more girls see Judgment by Others to be a major criterion. Conversely, overall, more boys see Comparison with Others to be more important and the difference between the categories of boys and girls increases moving from low to high status.

Judgment by Others, (i.e., teachers, other agents of society, boyfriends) seems more the source of feedback for the girls, and it seems a more personal kind of experience. Comparison with Others, (i.e., in athletics, achieved positions and so on) seems to represent more the male experience, a more collective type of experience. In the one instance, one learns whether she is doing well enough for approval; in the other, whether he is handling his position adequately.

Among the incongruent status groups of girls, there was no difference in the proportions giving a social criteria. About half of all four groups felt the Judgment by Others or Comparison with Others was the major way people knew they were good at something. However, it is interesting that, for these four groups of girls, the two criteria are inversely related. That is, the bright working-class and bright Negro girls were more likely than the others to suggest Judgment by Others while the other two groups, the low IQ middle-class and working-class girls were more likely to say Comparison with Others. We observe roughly the same pattern with respect to the psychological criteria. The bright incongruent status girls are somewhat more likely to refer to feeling involved while the low IQ incongruent girls mention the feeling of confidence.

It is probable that all youth experience feedback about their competence of the types suggested by these categories. However, it is also probable that certain features of one's situation are likely to make one type rather than another more salient. The relative success of the brighter girls in the educational setting and evidence of this success, i.e., feedback from the teacher in the form of grades and praise, would tend to make Judgment by Others a more frequent and positive experience. The less successful would tend to compare their position with others perhaps with respect to assessing their academic level and would turn to their experiences in other settings for instances of positive feedback, such as the playground. This is speculative. Let us see if the boys, who have appeared different from the girls according to other data presented, are here similar or different.

The boys are different. Seven-in-ten of the low IQ middle-class boys give us a social criterion. And almost four-in-ten of these boys gave a Judgment by Others response, a response which would seem, according to our interpretations so far, to be a more feminine one. They were the only group of boys of the six which had more respondents making this response than the Comparison with Others criterion. Only 10%

of these boys give an inner psychological reason, the smallest proportion of any group. Likewise they had the fewest mentioning performance (20%). The two bright incongruent groups of boys tended to have as many making social responses as the High Congruent Status boys (approaching six-in-ten). However, while the High Status boys had their responses about equally split between the two social criteria, the bright working-class white and Negro boys tended to use the Comparison with Other (about a third) response rather than the Judgment by others (slightly over a fifth).

The low IQ working-class boys made the fewest social responses (less than four-in-ten, a proportion comparable to the Low Congruent Status boys and girls). They tended to emphasize performance (38%), i.e., whether one had any trouble doing the task.

How One Becomes Good at Something

The question asked concerned "how a person becomes good at something." The major points made are presented in Tables 60 and 61. Most youth predictably emphasize practice as a means to attaining competence at something. About two-thirds of them made it their major point, more boys than girls doing so. Perhaps because of the high frequency of this type of response, there appear few noteworthy trends in these tables. The second most frequent response, Drive (e.g., hard work, desire, don't give up) tended to be more frequently made by the girls. More of the Low Congruent Status boys and girls mention aptitude; that is, being born with it, having the "knack," being a "natural."

Among the incrongruent status groups of girls, the low IQ working-class girls had the lowest proportion (46%) indicating practice to be the major avenue to becoming good at something. Almost as many of these girls (41%) focused on drive as a major point, the most of any group.

TABLE 60
How One Becomes Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Practice. Repeated experience, doing it (over and over).	57%	73%	50%	50%	66%	72%	70%	59%
Drive. Be willing, have interest, desire, work hard, don't give up.	32	21	36	31	19	21	24	23
Understanding. Learn the rules, understand the objective, study.	7	3	9	13	6	5	4	5
Other. Aptitude, take lessons.	4	3	5	6	9	2	2	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(72)	(123)	(105)	(75)	(89)	(139)	(83)	(39)

TABLE 61
How One Becomes Good at Something (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Practice	72%	74%	46%	60%	68%	73%	68%	75%
Drive	22	20	41	24	20	21	25	20
Understanding	0	4	8	8	8	5	4	5
Other	6	2	5	8	4	1	3	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(18)	(102)	(72)	(25)	(25)	(109)	(56)	(20)

Attitudes Toward Competence and Achievement

We shall consider here two more of the concepts included in the Semantic Differential analysis. They are Competence (To be Good at Things) and Achievement (To Accomplish, To Succeed).

Overall, Competence and Achievement are regarded positively. They are rated quite high among the fifteen concepts, falling below only Mother and To Be Liked on the Evaluative dimension. However, their meanings differ with respect to the other two dimensions. Achievement has a high Difficulty score, comparable to Future, School, and Work, falling below only Father's job. Competence is seen as being below average on Difficulty, more easy going, not frightening. Achievement was rated about average on the Vigor dimension, Competence somewhat above average, as more masculine, strong, fast, and was, in this respect, comparable to the concepts Work and Influence. In the three-dimensional space, Achievement (To Accomplish, To Succeed) clustered in the same cell with the concepts School, The Present, and The Future. This would appear to be a meaningful clustering of concepts. Competence shared the same cell in this meaning space only with the concept Father which was really quite distant on the Vigor (masculine) dimension.

Girls place Competence higher on the Evaluative dimension than do the boys (See Table 62). In addition, there is a trend for Competence to be regarded more postively by the higher status boys and girls. This trend is repeated when we consider the Difficulty dimension. The higher status boys and girls see Competence as less easy-going than do the lower status youth. We find a great sex difference with respect to the Vigor factor. Boys view competence as much more masculine, strong, fast. It is likely the idea of competence, to them, includes athletic skills while the girls think of competence in more feminine terms.

TABLE 62
The Meaning of Competence (to be Good at Things) by Sex and Status

Factors	Total	Female				Male				F- Ratio
		High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	
Evaluative	53	54	55	53	53	54	52	51	51	4.4
Difficulty	47	49	48	46	44	49	48	46	45	3.6
Vigor	52	49	49	47	48	54	54	56	54	17.3
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 63
The Meaning of Competence (to be Good at Things) by Sex and Status Incongruence

Factors	Female				Male				F- Ratio
	High		Low		High		Low		
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	
Evaluative	53	56	53	53	53	52	51	51	3.0
Difficulty	48	48	46	47	47	48	47	47	0.4
Vigor	48	50	47	47	56	54	57	56	11.4
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

There is little noteworthy to report concerning the incongruent groups (Table 63). The bright working-class white girls rate competence more positively than does any other group and as more vigorous than any other group of girls.

As with Competence, the girls see Achievement in much more positive terms than do the boys and again there is an association with status (Table 64). The high status youth apparently value achievement quite highly, higher than competence. Again, the relationship of Status level to Difficulty is repeated. The higher status boys and girls regard Achievement as much more tough-going. Also there is a large sex difference with respect to the Vigor dimension. The meaning of success for the boys is masculine, the meaning for the girls is quite feminine.

The bright white and Negro incongruent Status boys and girls evaluate achievement more highly than do the low IQ incongruent Status youth (Table 63). The bright working-class girls also see Achievement to be more Difficult and not quite so feminine as the other incongruent Status girls. The low IQ middle-class girls rate Achievement as most feminine. In this, they parallel the low IQ middle-class boys. This group of boys was the only one from among the boys with a Vigor score in the feminine range. It will be recalled that we observed a comparable "femininity" with regard to their notions about competence criteria. The low IQ working-class boys see Achievement, as they did Competence, as more vigorous than any of the other five groups of boys. It is likely that they interpret competence and accomplishment in more manual, and therefore, in more traditionally masculine terms.

The Kind of Person Generally Successful

We return now to the data from two more of the open-ended items. The boys and girls were asked "what kind of person is generally successful

TABLE 64
The Meaning of Achievement (to Accomplish, to Succeed)
by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	54	57	57	55	54	56	53	51	52	9.5
Difficulty	54	57	55	53	50	55	54	53	53	4.7
Vigor	49	46	46	44	47	52	51	53	52	18.0
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 65
The Meaning of Achievement (to Accomplish, to Succeed)
by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	56	57	54	58	50	54	50	53	7.2
Difficulty	54	56	52	54	55	54	53	52	0.7
Vigor	43	46	44	45	49	52	54	51	13.3
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

at his work." The most frequent "most important point" was that he should have Drive and Persistence (e.g., ambition, a hard worker, doesn't give up) (Table 66). Over a third of all respondents made this point and it was more frequently the major point of the higher status youth. Second most frequent was Need Satisfaction (e.g., he enjoys it, likes or is interested in the work). Girls somewhat more frequently expressed this opinion. For one-in-five of the Low Congruent Status boys Temperament seemed to be most important (i.e., friendly, easy to get along with, cooperative). The third most frequently made point, made by more boys than girls was that Ability or Talent was the most important trait of the successful person. Close to one-in-ten focused on performance in meeting job expectations. The other categories, though mentioned frequently overall, were only infrequently the major point selected for emphasis.

The bright working-class and Negro boys note the importance of drive and persistance for occupational success (Table 67). In this respect, they are much more comparable to the High Congruent Status boys and girls than to the other incongruent Status boys. Fewer of the low IQ middle-class girls made this point than any other group of boys or girls. Over a third of the low IQ middle-class boys emphasized the role of Need Satisfaction. This was a higher proportion than characterized any other group, male or female. It will be recalled that overall this type of response tended more often to be made by the girls than the boys. More of the low IQ boys than any other group of boys underline the importance of skill in success. This emphasis, as we suggested previously with regard to their higher Vigor scores for Competence and Achievement, may reflect their interpreting the competence and success items in terms

TABLE 66
The Kind of Person Seen as Generally Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Drive and Persistence. Has ambition, doesn't give up, a hard worker	44%	32%	35%	31%	40%	38%	30%	32%
Need Satisfaction. He enjoys, likes, is interested in the work.	23	29	24	28	18	28	25	16
Temperament. Friendly, easy to get along with, sociable, cooperative.	3	5	11	5	5	8	5	21
Ability and Talent. Has the ability, is smart, skilled, intelligent, alert.	14	10	5	18	17	13	21	16
Meet Job Requirements. Does job well, understands job.	6	14	7	13	10	5	9	10
Ego Strength. Mature, is responsible, makes decisions, reliable, confident.	6	6	8	3	6	2	5	0
Other. High moral character, accepts authority, manipulates others.	4	4	10	2	4	6	5	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(64)	(111)	(92)	(39)	(79)	(112)	(57)	(19)

of manual tasks. In this respect they were comparable to the low IQ middle-class girls. It will be recalled that they too seem oriented away from intellectual and toward manual skills if we can so interpret their electing the commercial high school program and desire for, and expectation of, a secretarial career. The only other noteable information from Table 67 concerns the bright Negro girls and boys. Many fewer of them than the other boys and girls saw Need Satisfaction as the major factor in occupational success. More of these Negro girls than any other group, male or female, saw Temperament as playing a major role.

What a Person has to Do to be Successful

The boys and girls were asked to "tell what a person has to do to be successful at his work." Again we find, from Table 68, that Drive is seen as of major importance (e.g., want to succeed, ambitious, work hard, stick to it.) In general the higher status youth more frequently saw Drive to be important (almost a half of the High Congruent Status boys and girls compared with about a third of the Low Status Incongruent youth). However, 50% of the Low Congruent Status boys also made this point, but note (Table 68) the small N (20) who selected to respond to this item makes their proportions unusually unreliable.

The second most important factor in being successful, according to somewhat over 20% of the youth, is Meeting Task Requirements (e.g., make no mistakes, finish your tasks, do the job). Third most frequently mentioned was Need Satisfaction (e.g., chose a job one enjoys).

The small N's of four of the eight incongruent groups precludes the possibility of making an adequate interpretation of the percentages so this table is not included here. We will note only that the bright working-class and Negro boys again emphasize more strongly than others, the role of Drive in occupational success.

TABLE 67
The Kind of Person Seen as Generally Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Drive and Persistence. Has ambition, doesn't give up, a hard worker.	18%	36%	38%	30%	25%	41%	23%	43%
Need Satisfaction. He enjoys, likes, is interested in the work.	24	27	30	9	35	27	28	14
Temperament. Friendly, easy to get along with, sociable, cooperative.	6	6	5	26	5	9	8	0
Ability and Talent. Has the ability, is smart, skilled, intelligent, alert.	24	8	7	0	10	13	23	14
Meet Job Requirements. Does job well, understands job.	23	12	8	4	15	3	7	15
Ego Strength. Mature, is responsible, makes decisions, reliable, confident.	5	7	5	13	0	2	5	7
Other. High moral character, accepts authority, manipulates others.	0	4	7	18	10	5	6	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(17)	(91)	(61)	(23)	(20)	(91)	(39)	(14)

TABLE 68
What a Person Has to Do to Be Successful at His Work (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Drive. Want to succeed, ambitious, stick with it, work hard.	46%	38%	38%	30%	49%	36%	26%	50%
Meet Task Requirements. Do job, make no mistakes, finish tasks.	16	18	32	23	21	23	27	20
Temperament. Be friendly, easy to get along with, cooperative, nice.	3	9	6	18	4	9	1	5
Need Satisfaction. Have a job one enjoys, that fulfills, is satisfying.	15	15	5	16	5	8	14	5
Accept Authority. Do what you are told, what the boss says, follow orders.	3	9	10	4	3	6	10	0
Improve Task Skills. Try to improve, practice, study, learn all you can.	10	5	5	7	7	9	9	5
Well-Trained. Have proper training, solid background, have the skills.	6	1	1	2	5	2	5	10
Other. Good appearance, be creative	1	5	3	0	6	7	8	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(69)	(115)	(82)	(44)	(81)	(112)	(59)	(20)

Summary

It was no surprise to learn that the higher status boys and girls feel they have greater control over their fate, over their future. And somewhat more boys indicate a feeling of greater control. It tends to be at the lower status levels that the girls feel they have little control; almost half the two lower status groups of girls having low Fate Control scores. It seems it is not only not a woman's world but also not a world for those without resources, i.e., with low statuses. The greatest difference between status levels was between the High Congruent and High Incongruent Status groups. We've observed before in noting status trends the apparently great difference it makes being low on only a single status dimension. Having a low IQ, being Negro, or being working-class exposes one to experiences which present the problem of coping with apparently arbitrary or little understood treatment. The High Congruent Status boys and girls are not generally exposed to such treatment.

The concepts Competence and Achievement are evaluated quite highly by the higher status boys and girls; Achievement somewhat higher than Competence. They also see Competence and Achievement to be more difficult, tough. This means that for these concepts, these dimensions, Evaluative and Difficulty, are correlated. The more difficult, tougher, the more positive the evaluation. It seems those youth who are more skilled and have achieved more,better appreciate what's involved in achieving and better perceive its significance.

The girls tend to regard Competence and Achievement more positively than do the boys. And they view both as feminine, Achievement, more so than competence. The boys see both to be more vigorous; Competence more so than Achievement. It is likely they view competence partly in terms of physical atheletic skills.

Girls, more than boys, seem to be somewhat more inclined to depend on the judgment of others concerning whether they are doing well or not. Boys, on the other hand, tend to judge themselves by comparing their performance or achievement with that of others. In the first instance, it seems more a matter of approval while in the second, more a matter of position. This view, comparison with others, is also associated with higher status. Those who do better know so by comparing themselves with others. Dependence on the judgment by others is also associated with higher status among the boys. Overall, the higher status levels tend to use social sources of feedback concerning how they are doing while the lower status levels are more likely than the higher levels to depend on more psychological criteria, e.g., how they feel.

More boys than girls see practice as the means of attaining competence while more girls than boys emphasize drive or understanding. It is likely the greater experience of the boys with athletic manual type activities underly this sex difference.

High Congruent Status

None of the other five groups were close to these boys and girls with respect to perceived fate control. Almost half agreed with all the following: confident life would work out about the way desired; feel they have mostly good luck; plans usually work out; and don't feel pushed around but run own life.

Half the girls selected as preferred reputation to be most popular and nearly four-in-ten picked best student. Fewer of the boys picked best athlete and more (except for the bright Negro boys) pick best student than the other group of boys.

These boys and girls rate Achievement as very positive, the boys more positive than all the other groups of boys. They view Achievement as more difficult-tough than do the others.

They see Competence to be less easy-going than do the other groups. Competence is regarded quite highly by both the boys and girls, these boys than all the other groups of boys. Overall, the boys view both Competence and Achievement as moderately vigorous (compared with the other boys) and the girls rate them less feminine than do most other girls.

Bright Negro Group

More of these boys and girls would prefer the best student reputation than any other groups. They had fewer who selected popular than the others. It would seem that their major claim to status, good grades, is more important to them than the other bright group who are less restricted.

These boys feel they have high fate control. They had the fewest of any groups who had really low Fate Control scores (about one-in-ten). They were second to the High Congruent Status boys in mean Fate Control score. One-third of the girls (second highest to the High Congruent Status girls) had high scores but one-half, more than any other group, had low scores. It seems there are two trends among these girls which have resulted in these quite disparate orientations towards themselves. There has been some suggestion before of a positive orientation toward themselves and the future along with negative signs. We shall return to this theme later.

These boys, along with the bright white working-class boys tend to refer to Comparison with others as the basis for knowledge about how well one is doing. The girls, along with the other bright incongruent group, the bright white, working-class girls, tend more frequently to view the judgment of others as the major source of competence feedback.

These boys view Achievement as less difficult than do the other boys and see it as only slightly vigorous and moderately positive. The girls are about average among the girls except with respect to their evaluation of Achievement which they rate as more positive than do the other boys and girls.

Their placement of Competence in the three-dimensional meaning space was about average for their sex.

Bright Working-Class Group

These boys and girls are third on Fate Control behind the other two high IQ groups. About a third of the boys have high Fate Control as scores, another third medium, and others low scores. Three-in-ten of the girls are high and about four-in-ten are low.

These girls were close to average among the girls in the proportions preferring best liked (about half) and best student (four-in-ten) as reputations. These boys, surprisingly enough, had the second lowest proportion picking best student (about a fourth). Only the low IQ working-class group had fewer (one-in-five). The bright working-class group of boys had the second highest proportion (four-in-ten) who selected best liked (second to the low IQ working-class boys).

Compared with the other groups, these boys (along with the bright Negro group) tended to see comparison with others as the means of knowing how one is doing while the girls (along with the bright Negro girls) saw the judgment of others to be the major criterion.

These boys were second to the High Congruent Status group in their positive rating of Achievement and the girls, along with the High Congruent Status girls, were very positive also. They tended, compared with the others, to see it also as tough or difficult (or frightening?). These girls also tend to rate Competence as quite positive and as neither high nor low on Vigor; the other girls rated it feminine. They, along with these boys, tended also to view competence as somewhat less easy than most others. The boys rate Competence high on Vigor but not higher than other groups of boys.

Low IQ Middle-Class

These boys and girls have more with low Fate Control scores than high scores. They rank fourth in perceived Fate Control, slightly below the bright working-class group. The girls have the highest proportion, among the girls, with medium scores (43%). The boys had the second highest proportion with low scores (39%) among the boys. This was the only group wherein the boys had more low Fate Control scores.

About a third of the boys picked best athlete as the most preferred reputation, the most of any group; a third picked best student, an average proportion; and somewhat over a quarter picked best liked, a below average proportion. It may be recalled that the teachers picked a higher proportion of these boys as unpopular with their classmates than any other group of boys. It might be observed here that there tended to be a negative correlation between teachers' ratings of popularity and preferences to be known as best liked.

These middle-class boys depend more on the judgment of others than the other groups of boys. It may be recalled that this notion tended to be associated with the girls as a basis for assessing how one was doing. Also, they gave more social criteria responses than any other group, male or female (70%) and the fewest psychological (confidence and feeling) responses of any group (10%).

Related to the finding that this group of boys tended to use what otherwise tended to be a feminine response was their placement of Achievement on the Vigor dimension. They were the only male group to have a Vigor score in the feminine range. It is of interest also that the low IQ middle-class girls had the lowest Vigor score of all the groups of girls. The boys rate Competence neutral on the Evaluative dimension, but as very difficult. They represented the greatest departure from the tendency for the difficulty scores to be correlated with the Evaluative scores.

Low IQ White Working-Class Group

Almost twice as many of these girls had low Fate Control scores as had high ones. Their average score was the lowest among the girls but only slightly different from the two groups of Negro girls. These boys had the lowest average among the boys, almost half having low Fate Control scores. These boys and girls, then, see themselves with relatively less control over what happens to them. Both the boys and the girls had the most who preferred the best liked reputation (the girls proportion was comparable to the low IQ middle-class girls). Both sexes had the fewest among their sex selecting best student. These boys had almost as few as the High Congruent Status group selecting best athlete. Overall, these boys and girls had the fewest picked as popular and many picked as unpopular with their peers by their teachers.

These boys and girls tended to regard Achievement as less positive than the others of their sex, the boys rating it as neither positive nor negative. Neither seemed to view it as very tough, but the boys rated it more vigorous than did the other boys. The girls, on the other hand, tend to see it as quite feminine. For this dimension, these boys and girls had the greatest sex difference within any group.

They likewise had the greatest within group difference in regard to their view of Competence. The boys saw it as more vigorous than the other boys and the girls rated it more feminine, along with the bright Negro girls, than did the other girls. Among the other groups of their sex, they rated Competence as moderately difficult and as not very positive.

Low Congruent Status Group

These boys and girls had a low average Fate Control score. The girls, along with the two Low Incongruent Status groups of girls were very low while the boys were second lowest among the boys, comparable to the low IQ middle-class boys. These boys and girls, then, see themselves having only a modest influence over their experiences.

The proportions of girls preferring best liked and best student as reputations was comparable to the High Congruent Status girls, proportions close to average for all girls. The boys, along with the low IQ middle-class boys had the most selecting the reputation of best athlete (about a third), relatively few (about a quarter) selecting best liked (again, a proportion comparable to the low IQ middle-class boys). A third, average for the boys, picked best student.

These boys and girls, compared with the others, more often believed that how confident one felt was the major way people know when they are good at something.

These teenagers rated Competence much more easy going and as less positive than the others. They also rated Achievement low on Difficulty; the girls saw it as neither difficult nor easy. The girls also saw it as less feminine than the other girls. They also regard it as less positive than most of the other groups of girls.

Themes

One trend which stood out, one we've encountered before is how great the difference is between the High Congruent Status boys and girls and the next lower status level on some of our measures. These boys and girls are in a group apart with respect to the Fate Control scores. This is one of several measures on which we've had sex differences, some quite large, within the other groups, but which were small within the High Congruent Status group. The girls, especially, stood out; they were the only group of girls which had more with high than low scores and they had over twice as many with high scores.

We noted the high association between the proportions who preferred the reputation of most popular and the proportions of the group picked by their teachers as unpopular with their peers. This association held for both sexes but was especially strong for the girls. The low IQ middle- and working-class girls had the most picking most popular and had the most picked as unpopular (and fewest picked as popular) by their teachers. The bright Negro girls had the most picked as popular and fewest picked as unpopular but had the fewest who preferred the most popular reputation. It seems that those who are popular see is as less important than those who lack popularity.

We have noted a contrast between the bright white and Negro working-class boys and girls, especially the boys. The Negro boys seem to be a more homogeneous group than the white group. It isn't a matter of the Negro teenagers having higher IQ's. Actually, the mean IQ for the white boys and girls is somewhat higher. In comparing the two groups of boys, we find the white group have fewer expecting college, fewer picking best student as a reputation and in many other respects they were second to the Negro boys. It is likely that the bright Negro youth stand out more in their schools and get more attention and are focused more on a future involving academic achievement. On the other hand, they were not generally regarded any more positively by their teachers than the white boys. We have noted that they tend to have a somewhat more positive attitude toward the school and this may be reflected also in their Achievement levels. Seventy-seven percent of the Negro boys are in the top 40% of their classes compared with 51% of the white boys. There was no difference between the two sets of girls, both had about 65% in the top range.

We have remarked before on the special characteristics of the boys and girls in the low IQ middle-class group. These girls seem more "feminine" in some sense than do the others. They have the lowest aspirations concerning education, most prefer the reputation most popular or best liked. While undistinguished either in skills or personality they are regarded as quite attractive according to their teachers. The boys, too, it seems tend toward the feminine if we might so interpret some of our findings that show the low IQ middle-class boys sometimes more similar to the groups of girls than the boys.

CHAPTER 7

WORK AND PLAY

Work and play activities, broadly defined, make up most of the important activities confronting a person, the activities which take up much of one's waking hours. Generally play predominates for the youngster while work-type activities take up an increasing proportion of time and also become increasingly significant as one gets older. One's attitude about and approach to work activities certainly has implications concerning the kinds of experiences encountered and coped with during a significant portion of one's life.

Play is included for investigation in this study partly because it represents the activities most central during the early years before being gradually replaced in centrality by work activities and partly because it was expected that the perceptions of and attitudes toward work would be related to one's perceptions of the nature of play. It was expected also that the obtained attitudes and cognitions about play would be helpful as background for interpreting the data concerning work.

Before turning to these attitudes and cognitions it would be helpful to have some idea what kinds of activities teenagers consider to be work or play. Preceding the set of questions about work and the set about play, the respondents were asked a preliminary question to provide a context for answering the more abstract questions to follow. The first was to name some activities that were personally considered play. A portion of the total sample, 200 high school seniors, was selected and their responses coded to provide some idea what specifically these youth considered to be work and play activities.

Physical type work, not for pay, was the most common type of work response. They are broken down as follows: housework, 41% of the respondents; yard and garden work, 18%; other physical work, 28%; and physical labor in general, 17%. The second most frequent type of response was jobs for pay. Specific jobs (e.g., counter work, bookkeeping) were mentioned by 24% and general references to work for pay (e.g., earning a living, factory work) by 40% of the boys and girls. The third most frequent type of response was mental effort. School work and homework were referred to by 37% and suggestions of especially intense mental activity (e.g., taking tests and concentrated study) were made by 10%. Five percent of the total group (all males) included atheletic-type activities as examples of what they considered to represent work.

Atheletic and recreational activities were the most frequent types of things mentioned in response to the request to name play activities. The breakdown of atheletic activities was as follows: team sports, 30%; water sports, 24%; "social" sports (e.g., roller skating, skiing), 19%; and sports in general, 22%. The breakdown of the recreational activities were as follows: table games (cards, chess), 12%; other games, 20%; movies, TV, and records, 10%; hobbies, 11%; references to relaxing and resting, 26%; and other recreational activities (driving, fishing), 11%. The remaining set of activities were the social activities. They are coed events such as dating and dancing, 15%; organized activities such as clubs, parties, and picnics, 7%; unorganized social happenings such as teasing and kidding around, 19%; and finally, 4% mentioned spectator events.

It will be recalled that these two questions were quite open in the sense that no particular set was suggested concerning what was expected

Physical type work, not for pay, was the most common type of work response. They are broken down as follows: housework, 41% of the respondents; yard and garden work, 18%; other physical work, 28%; and physical labor in general, 17%. The second most frequent type of response was jobs for pay. Specific jobs (e.g., counter work, bookkeeping) were mentioned by 24% and general references to work for pay (e.g., earning a living, factory work) by 40% of the boys and girls. The third most frequent type of response was mental effort. School work and homework were referred to by 37% and suggestions of especially intense mental activity (e.g., taking tests and concentrated study) were made by 10%. Five percent of the total group (all males) included atheletic-type activities as examples of what they considered to represent work.

Atheletic and recreational activities were the most frequent types of things mentioned in response to the request to name play activities. The breakdown of atheletic activities was as follows: team sports, 30%; water sports, 24%; "social" sports (e.g., roller skating, skiing), 19%; and sports in general, 22%. The breakdown of the recreational activities were as follows: table games (cards, chess), 12%; other games, 20%; movies, TV, and records, 10%; hobbies, 11%; references to relaxing and resting, 26%; and other recreational activities (driving, fishing), 11%. The remaining set of activities were the social activities. They are coed events such as dating and dancing, 15%; organized activities such as clubs, parties, and picnics, 7%; unorganized social happenings such as teasing and kidding around, 19%; and finally, 4% mentioned spectator events.

It will be recalled that these two questions were quite open in the sense that no particular set was suggested concerning what was expected to be listed as work or play. The youth were simply requested to indicate those activities that, for them, represented work or play. It can be seen that the range of responses to both questions was quite varied. There would seem to be little, if anything, which might be experienced as work or as play which was not among the responses of this group. With this background, then, let us turn to what they say these activities mean to them as experiences. The attitudes and cognitions about work will be discussed first, then play.

The Definition of Work

After listing activities considered as examples of work, the respondent was requested to "tell what the word work means." The major points made in response are presented in Tables 69 and 70. About a third of these teenagers see Energy Expenditure to be the primary characteristic of work, that is, any physical or mental effort is experienced as work. Taking this position is associated with higher status and with being a male. The second most frequently expressed notion (by about one-in-four) was the Earning a Living idea. That is, work is something done to support a family, for income. This view is very much associated with having lower status and with being female. Another notion about the basic factor in work is that of Achievement, accomplishment of some sort. Something is completed, constructed, done; a goal is reached. Many of these responses imply some kind of an object (a product), others a condition or state (e.g., a clean floor, an orderly house or garden). Seeing this aspect to be the major meaning of work was associated somewhat with lower status. One-in-nine described work activities as those which were hard, which required great effort, much concentration (the Pressure-Strain category). This theme is similar to the first idea described (Energy Expenditure)

TABLE 69
What Work Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Energy Expenditure. Any physical of mental effort.	41%	30%	19%	25%	47%	40%	35%	41%
Earning a Living. What one does to make a living, support a family.	18	28	34	44	10	23	28	30
Achievement. One accomplishes, achieves, makes, improves, completes.	6	10	16	12	9	5	4	15
Negative Experience. Unenjoyable, painful, not liked, boring, etc.	9	6	3	0	7	6	4	2
Pressure-Strain. Difficult, hard, requires great effort.	6	14	10	3	13	15	13	2
Task Demand. Things which have to be done; one's responsibility, duty.	10	6	6	4	3	1	6	0
Rewarding. Get praise, fame; you gain, learn something, develops you.	1	6	8	4	9	3	5	7
Other.	9	0	4	8	2	7	5	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(79)	(126)	(106)	(69)	(92)	(157)	(99)	(46)

except that it tended to be relatively neutral while the Pressure-Strain responses specifically implied a feeling of strain or pressure as well. Since there is this commonality to these two ideas it is not surprising that the Pressure-Strain notion is also associated slightly with being male and with higher status. In particular, very few of the Low Congruent Status youth (2-3%) expressed this idea. About one-in-twenty teenagers see work to be essentially a Negative Experience. They describe work as something unenjoyable, a "drag," painful, tiring, and even as "repulsive." It will be noticed that there is an element of pressure or strain in these responses also. Having this idea about work is also associated with higher status; only about 1% of the Low Congruent Status boys and girls expressed such an idea. Another one-in-twenty of the teenagers described work in terms of necessity, in the sense of the pressure or demand to do or complete a task arising from the state of the task itself and one's duties or responsibilities (the Task Demand category). The responses coded here suggest a task-role relationship, e.g., "certain things need to be done and it's your job to do them." This kind of response was more often made by the girls and, among the girls, was associated with having higher status. Note how aptly the above idea of work characterizes housework. The final category of responses includes those which associate the meaning of work with some personal reward. Coded here were such responses as the following: you do it for grades, you get praise, fame, wealth, status or position, gain something, it develops you, you learning something (Rewarding).

Two major themes run through several of these ideas about the nature of work. One theme is that of pressure-strain-effort described at different levels by the categories: Energy Expenditure, Negative Experience, and Pressure-Strain. There was another idea expressed,

TABLE 70
What Work Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Energy Expenditure. Any physical or mental effort.	12%	34%	19%	11%	37%	40%	35%	42%
Earning a Living. What one does to make a living, support a family.	41	26	32	33	23	23	28	29
Achievement. One accomplishes, achieves, makes, improves, completes.	12	10	17	19	7	4	6	0
Negative Experience. Unenjoyable, painful, not liked, boring, etc.	6	6	3	4	10	6	4	4
Pressure-Strain. Difficult, hard, requires great effort.	17	12	10	15	10	17	13	13
Task Demand. Things which have to be done; one's responsibility, duty.	6	6	6	8	7	0	7	0
Rewarding. Get praise, fame, you gain, learn something, develops you.	6	5	10	4	3	3	3	8
Other.	0	1	3	6	3	7	4	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(17)	(106)	(70)	(27)	(30)	(122)	(69)	(24)

Code for Column Headings:

	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
IQ	Low	High	Low	High
Class	MC	WC	WC	WC
Race	White	White	White	Negro

that work is something you are forced to do (you have to do it and you don't want to), which includes this same theme. (This category, Coercion, was not listed separately since it represented only 3% of the total responses and so was combined with other low frequency categories and listed under Other in the table.) This idea, Coercion, was also associated with higher status. If we combine the proportions indicating one of these four ideas to represent the essential meaning of work, we find that the totals range from about 68% of the High Status Congruent boys and girls making this kind of response to about 37% of the Low Status Congruent teenagers, a strong association. This type of response was made by more boys than girls at every status level.

The second theme is that the meaning of work is an activity that leads to something. You end up with a product (Achievement), a pat on the head (Rewarding), or a living (Earning a Living). This can be thought of as the Means-to-an-End theme. Combining, as we did before, the proportions expressing these ideas, we obtain totals ranging from 27% of the High Congruent Status teenagers to 56% of the Low Congruent Status youth who characterize work as a means to an end, again a strong association. Again there is a sex difference with this response more characteristic of the girls.

In both instances, with these themes, the High Congruent Status boys and girls are the most similar while the Low Incongruent Status boys and girls are the most sharply differentiated.

When we turn to the Incongruent Status groups (Table 70), we observe that the bright working-class boys tend to emphasize the pressure-strain-effort theme in proportions approaching that of the High Congruent Status boys (about seven-in-ten). The bright Negro boys were next but not much above the other two incongruent groups of boys.

Fifty-five percent to 59% of these three groups made a response with this theme compared with 45% of the Low Congruent Status boys. The bright working-class girls tended to emphasize this theme also in proportions approaching the boys and the High Congruent Status girls (54% compared with 65% of the High Status girls). The responses of about a third of the other incongruent girls were of this nature (compared with a comparable amount, 29%, of the Low Status Congruent girls).

When we examine the means-to-an-end type responses, we find, again, that the bright working-class white girls are different. Fewer of them (41%) gave a response with this theme than was true of the other incongruent girls, approximately six-in-ten of whom made such a response. This proportion of the bright working-class girls was not so low as was true of the High Congruent Status girls (25%). The bright working-class white boys again were more similar to the High Congruent Status boys (30% and 28%, respectively) but were not much differentiated from the other incongruent groups, 33% of the low IQ middle-class boys and 37% of the other two Incongruent Status groups). The Low Congruent Status boys stand out sharply from the rest with over half (52%) seeing the means-to-an-end theme to represent the essential nature of work. We have had occasion before, and will again, to remark on the tendency for those of lower status to focus more on the instrumental nature of work and jobs.

When Work is Liked

After defining work the respondents were presented with the request "If you ever like work, tell why you like it." Less than one percent of the total group of over 1,200 teenagers said they never liked work. We interpret this to mean that teenagers are not really alienated from work as such but that it is some aspect of their work experiences which they find unrewarding or disagreeable rather than the idea of work itself. This interpretation will receive support by implication from the responses to the "like work" item and more directly from the responses to the item to follow concerning when work is disliked.

Approximately four-in-ten of the boys and girls like work when it is exciting, novel, stimulating, challenging, something they enjoy (Positive Experience). Giving such a reason as the most important point was directly associated with status among the boys. Among the girls, fewer of the Low Congruent Status girls made such a reason than any other of the status levels (see Table 71). About one-in-eight like work when they feel that something worthwhile has been accomplished. Seom examples of Achievement responses are: you do something helpful, you occupy your time constructively, when order is attained, when you bring about desired changes, when you create something. Making this response the most important point tended to be associated with higher status. It will be recalled that defining work in similar terms, however, tended to be associated with lower status. About one-in-eleven gave a somewhat negative reason for when they like work, i.e., they like work in the absence of pressure or strain. They said such things as: when it is easy, when it's relaxing, when you are able to do it. Higher frequencies of this category (No Pressure-Strain) were associated with lower status. One-in-twenty like work when the conditions, physical and social, associated with the work are pleasant. They said such things as: when there are nice people to work with, when working together, when the surroundings are pleasant. Note that these responses imply nothing about the task itself. It is the conditions within which the task-activity is embedded which determines

TABLE 71
When Work Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Positive Experience. Exciting, novel, enjoyable, challenging, etc.	43%	37%	46%	31%	44%	44%	33%	27%
Achievement. Do something worthwhile, constructive, helpful.	14	18	16	6	13	10	5	7
Benefits. Get paid, receive praise, grades, recognition, status, etc.	7	8	8	21	15	16	25	29
No Pressure-Strain. When task is easy, not demanding, relaxing.	3	8	8	11	8	7	16	15
Good Conditions. Pleasant physical and social conditions.	10	9	6	4	1	4	2	2
Fulfilling. Learn something, gain knowledge, develop skill.	6	6	6	10	9	9	5	7
Activity Need. Keeps you busy, fills time, doesn't interfere.	7	7	5	12	5	5	5	6
Other.	10	7	5	5	5	5	9	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(81)	(132)	(107)	(81)	(93)	(154)	(92)	(55)

whether it will be a positive experience. More girls than boys gave this kind of a response (Good Conditions) as their most important point and among the girls it was directly associated with status. Another one-in-sixteen also gave another like-work reason which implies nothing about the activity itself. They say they like work when it keeps you busy, fills your leisure time, gives you something to do, keeps you from being bored, or doesn't interfere with anything important. This response (Activity Needs) was not associated with either sex or status. The two remaining categories of responses, Benefits and Fulfilling, were collapsed together as the Rewarding category when we discussed the definition of work. They occurred with greater frequency in response to the like-work item and so are listed separately in Table 71. Both categories of responses imply obtaining some reward from work, but the rewards coded in the Benefit category (the most important point for three-of-twenty) have nothing directly to do with the work activity itself, but are extrinsic to the activity. They gave such responses as: when you are paid, receive praise, grades, recognition, and status. Making this response the most important point tended to be associated with lower status and with being a boy. About one-in-fourteen gave responses which implied a reward more intrinsic to the activity. They like work when you have learned something, when you have gained knowledge, when you develop skills, or gain maturity.

More girls than boys tend to like work when the conditions are pleasant, when something is accomplished and when it fills time which might otherwise be wasted. More boys than girls like work when there is some associated benefit such as pay, and when there is no strain associated. More of the lower status youth like work when it involves some benefit, when it is easy, no strain, and when it fills time.

TABLE 72
When Work Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Positive Experience. Exciting, novel, enjoyable, challenging, etc.	53%	35%	45%	48%	46%	43%	35%	26%
Achievement. Do something worthwhile, constructive, helpful.	0	21	16	22	7	11	5	9
Benefits. Get paid, receive praise, grades, recognition, status, etc.	18	7	6	7	18	17	25	30
No Pressure-Strain. When task is easy, not demanding, relaxing.	6	9	10	4	4	7	16	17
Good Conditions. Pleasant physical and social conditions.	12	8	9	0	7	3	3	0
Fulfilling. Learn something, gain knowledge, develop skill.	0	6	6	4	4	10	5	9
Activity Need. Keeps you busy, fills time, doesn't interfere.	6	7	3	4	7	5	8	0
Other.	5	7	5	11	7	4	3	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(17)	(111)	(71)	(27)	(28)	(121)	(63)	(23)

More of the higher status boys and girls like work when something is accomplished, when it is a positive experience, something they like to do, and, among the girls, when the conditions are pleasant and rewarding.

More of the low IQ middle-class girls (53%) say they like work when it is something they enjoy than do the High Congruent Status girls (43%). More of these girls and the low IQ middle-class boys than the other incongruent groups also emphasize the importance of the conditions surrounding the work activity as a factor in their liking work work. None of the low IQ middle-class girls mentioned achievement or intrinsic benefits as reasons for liking work. Fewer of the bright working-class girls (35%) than the other incongruent girls described liked-work in terms of enjoyable activities. In this, they tended toward the Low Congruent Status girls (31%). More of these girls and the bright Negro girls emphasized achievement or accomplishment (21% and 22%, respectively). None of the bright Negro girls said anything implying the importance of social or physical conditions.

In general, the distribution of different reasons for liking work of the low IQ middle-class and bright working-class boys tended to be similar to the High Congruent Status boys while those of the other two incongruent groups, the low IQ working-class white boys and bright Negro boys, tended to be similar to that of the Low Congruent Status boys.

When Work is Disliked

Following the like-work item, the teenagers were presented with the following: "If you ever dislike work, tell why you dislike it." About 2% of all respondents said they never dislike work. This is more than answered that they never like work. This means that 98% have had disagreeable work experiences. It would seem that having both agreeable work experiences is practically universal.

TABLE 73
When Work is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Negative Experience. It is dull, routine, boring, uninteresting, etc.	29%	35%	35%	25%	38%	38%	26%	22%
Pressure-Strain. When too demanding, under tension, time pressure.	15	17	30	28	14	17	27	20
Poor Conditions. Unpleasant physical and/or social conditions frustrate.	3	10	4	4	3	7	10	2
Interference. When activity interferes with preferred activity.	26	6	7	7	16	15	12	10
Coercion. When told what to do, you have to do it, you don't want to.	10	9	1	7	12	6	2	4
No Achievement. Nothing worthwhile is achieved, no accomplishment.	6	5	7	0	6	4	2	2
Not in Mood. When feeling lazy, ill, worried, tired, in a bad mood, etc.	8	10	9	17	5	8	9	22
No Benefits. No pay, money, praise, recognition, status, etc.	3	8	4	7	6	5	10	12
Other.	0	0	3	5	0	0	2	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(78)	(133)	(109)	(75)	(89)	(151)	(93)	(51)

One-in-three of the boys and girls describe disliked work as dull, routine, uninteresting, boring, repetitive, and even repulsive. Giving a Negative Experience idea as the most important feature of disliked work was directly associated with status among the boys (see Table 73). Another one-in-five said they dislike work when it is too demanding, when too much is expected, when you're under time pressure, when under tension, when it's hard for you, and when you are unable to do it. Giving a Pressure-Strain reason was somewhat associated with lower status. One-in-eight dislike work when it interferes with some preferred activity, such as when it takes up too much free time. Higher frequencies of this response (Interference) were somewhat associated with status. One-in-ten do not like work when not in the mood for it. They say: when in a bad mood, when ill, when worried, when feeling lazy, and when tired. They don't like work, regardless of the task, when not emotionally or motivationally ready for it. About twice as many of the Low Congruent Status boys and girls gave such a response compared with the rest of the status levels. About one-in-sixteen do not like work when no benefit such as pay, recognition, or praise is associated with it. Among the boys this response tended to be associated with lower status. Another one-in-sixteen say they don't like work when they are told what to do, when they feel forced to engage in an activity. More of the higher status boys and girls tended to emphasize Coercion as a dislike-work reason. Another one-in-sixteen dislike work when the conditions are poor. They mention such conditions as when you don't like the people, when you have to work alone, when you don't like the boss, and when the working conditions are not good. Finally, one-in-twenty-five mention such things as: it wastes time, nothing worthwhile is achieved, you don't get anywhere. There was a slight positive status association with this category (No Achievement).

TABLE 74
When Work Is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Negative Experience. It is dull, routine, boring, uninteresting, etc.	30%	36%	34%	36%	43%	36%	30%	17%
Pressure-Strain. When too demanding, under tension, time pressure.	15	17	33	18	13	18	22	29
Poor Conditions. Unpleasant physical and/or social conditions frustrate.	10	10	4	4	7	7	13	4
Interference. When activity interferes with preferred activity.	5	6	7	7	10	16	14	8
Coercion. When told what to do, you have to do it, you don't want to.	15	8	1	0	3	6	2	4
No Achievement. Nothing worthwhile is achieved, no accomplishment.	5	5	6	14	7	3	2	4
Not in Mood. When feeling lazy, ill, worried, tired, in a bad mood, etc.	15	8	11	7	7	9	6	17
No Benefits. No pay, money, praise, recognition, status, etc.	5	9	3	7	10	4	6	17
Other.	0	1	1	7	0	1	5	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(20)	(110)	(73)	(28)	(30)	(117)	(63)	(24)

There were no striking sex differences in the reasons given for disliking work. More of the higher status youth don't like work when it interferes with other, more preferred, activities, when they feel forced to do something, when nothing seems to be accomplished, and, among the boys, when it is a negative experience. More lower status boys and girls do not like work when they feel under pressure, when not in the mood for it, and, among the boys, when they see no benefits associated with it.

More of the low IQ working-class white girls gave Pressure-Strain responses (33%, Table 74) which was approximately twice any other group except the Low Congruent Status girls (28%). The latter group was characterized by the most Mood responses (17%) and the fewest Negative Experience responses (25%) among the six groups of girls. The bright white working-class and Negro girls more frequently gave the Negative Experience reason (36%) and more of these Negro girls gave No Achievement as a reason (14%). Compared with most other groups, more of the bright working-class girls gave Poor Conditions as a reason (10%). Interference reasons were far more characteristic of the High Congruent status girls (26%) than the rest (5-7%). Three categories of reasons tended to characterize the low IQ middle-class girls compared with the rest, but the small N for this group suggests caution in drawing inferences. The categories were Coercion (15%), Not in Mood (15%), and Poor Conditions (10%).

The boys' groups again tended to cluster (Tables 73 and 74). The High Congruent Status, low IQ middle-class, and bright working-class white boys tended to be more characterized by the Negative Experience notion while the other three groups were more characterized by the Pressure-Strain reason. The two Negro groups, the bright Negro and the Low Congruent Status boys, were characterized by more Mood responses,

TABLE 75
What Play Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Fun-Pleasure. It is happiness, contentment, enjoyable, etc.	72%	69%	73%	75%	69%	74%	68%	76%
Tension-Reduction. It relaxes, refreshes; troubles, worries leave.	12	7	5	0	14	8	7	2
Not Work. Opposite of work, leisure-time activity, nothing else to do.	6	12	7	6	4	4	9	0
No Coercion. You don't mind, don't have to, not forced, are willing.	7	3	3	0	7	7	2	0
Social Interaction. Involves other people, it's a social activity.	1	6	7	8	3	4	7	15
Other.	2	3	5	11	3	3	7	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(85)	(136)	(112)	(72)	(94)	(147)	(99)	(46)

more No benefit responses, and by especially lower frequencies of the Negative Experience reason. The low IQ working-class boys more frequently mentioned Poor Conditions (13%) compared with the other groups (2-7%) and the High Congruent Status group more frequently mentioned Coercion as a reason for disliking work (12% compared with 3-6% for the other groups).

The Definition of Play

Following the item, summarized earlier, concerning listing play activities, the boys and girls were asked to tell "what the word play means." For an overwhelming majority of these teenagers, play means fun or pleasure. Play seems to be viewed as a positive emotional experience, one that makes you happy, contented. Over seven-in-ten gave such a definition as the most important aspect of play. One-in-thirteen defined play in terms of Tension-Reduction. Play is seen to relax one, to refresh, as an escape from the pressure of work, where your troubles and worries leave you. Higher frequencies of this definition were associated with higher status (Table 75). One-in-fourteen defined play as an activity that was Not Work. They said such things as: it's the opposite of work, it's a leisure time activity, it's what you do when you have nothing else to do. Freedom of choice was emphasized by another one-in-twenty-five. They see the essence of play to be anything the person doesn't mind doing, something that he doesn't have to be told to do, something that he is willing to do. No Coercion is the most important element of play for more of the higher status than the lower status boys and girls. One-in-sixteen define play in terms of it's social nature. They see play as involving other people, as being essentially social in nature, as something you do with your friends, or to make friends. This response was associated with lower status.

The bright Negro girls tended to give more of the Fun-Pleasure type of response (88% compared with no more than 75% of any other group). The Tension-Reduction definition was more characteristic of the HIgh Congruent Status boys and girls than the others. More of the low IQ

TABLE 76
What Play Means (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LOCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Fun-Pleasure. It is happiness, contentment, enjoyable, etc.	62%	70%	70%	88%	80%	72%	64%	82%
Tension-Reduction. It relaxes, refreshes; troubles, worries leave.	5	8	5	3	4	10	6	9
Not Work. Opposite of work, leisure-time activity, nothing else to do.	14	11	8	3	0	5	12	5
No Coercion. You don't mind, don't have to, not forced, are willing.	5	3	3	3	7	7	3	0
Social Interaction. Involves other people, it's a social activity.	14	5	8	3	3	5	10	0
Other.	0	3	6	0	6	1	5	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(21)	(111)	(74)	(31)	(30)	(112)	(69)	(22)

working-class boys gave the Not Work definition (12%) than any other group of boys (0-5%). More of the Low Congruent Status boys gave the Social Interaction definition (15%) than any of the others (0-10%). However, 10% of the low IQ working-class boys also gave this reason. Among the girls, more of the three low IQ group than the brighter groups gave this reason.

When Play is Disliked

The respondents were presented with the item "If you ever dislike play, tell why you dislike it." One-in-eleven of them never dislike play. That leaves 91% who can tell us of their disagreeable play experiences. With play being defined as fun-pleasure-refreshment, freedom-friends, that seems a lot. Among the higher status teenagers, more boys than girls claim never to dislike play (Table 77).

About one-in-six dislike play when not in the Mood for it, when hot or tired, feeling ill, or in a serious mood. This response tended to be associated with lower status, especially among the boys. More of the lower status boys than girls give the Mood reason while among the higher status youth, it's far more characteristic of the girls. One-in-twelve don't like play when the activity gets out of hand. The idea seems to be that a potentially satisfying activity can become disappointing when some of the players get too rough, when you get hurt, or get into trouble, or when things become too disorganized for the activity to be maintained. When the activity process disintegrates, frustration ensues. This idea was more frequently expressed by the lower status youth and more often by boys than girls.

Three of the categories of responses tended to have frequencies associated with higher status. They are the No Benefits, Pressure-Strain, and Coercion categories. Embarrassment seemed to be the theme running

TABLE 77
When Play Is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Negative Experience. It's not liked, isn't enjoyable, uninteresting, no fun.	21%	20%	27%	8%	23%	22%	17%	20%
Not in Mood. When not feeling good, when ill, hot, tired, in serious mood.	19	16	13	22	9	13	21	28
Disorganized. Gets out of hand, is disorganized, too rough, etc.	3	4	7	15	5	9	10	20
Satiation. You have too much, the same thing over and over, etc.	11	10	5	8	10	7	9	4
Frustration. You don't like the people, they quit, want own way, etc.	15	22	19	20	9	15	20	10
No Benefits. When losing, people laugh, can't do it well.	9	9	7	4	9	12	7	4
Pressure-Strain. It's too demanding, not relaxing, tires you out.	8	4	5	4	6	3	4	0
Coercion. You don't want to do it, would rather do something else.	7	6	6	6	9	3	2	0
NEVER Dislikes Play.	3	6	8	11	14	11	7	11
Other.	4	3	3	2	6	5	3	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(75)	(142)	(108)	(79)	(94)	(151)	(98)	(51)

through many of the No Benefit responses (made by about one-in-twelve of the total group). They said such things as: when losing, when not competent, when people laugh at you, when you can't do it well. One-in-twenty dislike play when they feel there was no freedom of choice, when they feel forced to participate. Another one-in-twenty-five don't like play when it's not relaxing, when it tires you out, when it creates tension rather than relieving it.

The most common reason given (by one-in-five) for disliking play was that it is something that doesn't suit one, that is of no interest or is unenjoyable. The second most common reason, the major point of one-in-six, concerned finding play frustrating. Frustration is experienced when people cheat, when one doesn't like the people, when people quit, when they want their own way, and when they are bad sports. This response tended to be somewhat more characteristic of the girls than the boys. Finally, one-in-twelve find play unsatisfying when they've had enough. Too much of a good thing is too much, you get tired of it (Satiation).

The six groups of girls are not greatly differentiated by their distributions of dislike-play responses. The single exception would seem to be the Low Congruent Status girls. Only 8% of them gave a Negative Experience reason compared with two to four times as many of the other groups. Twenty-two percent gave Mood reasons (compared with 11-19% of the others) and 15% had reasons coded Disorganized (compared with 0-4% of the other groups of girls). In within classroom comparisons, more of the bright girls give a Pressure-Strain reason and more of the low IQ girls say they never dislike play (Table 78).

Among the boys, if we compare the low IQ with the bright within class and race, we find that fewer of the low IQ boys give Negative

TABLE 78
When Play Is Disliked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Negative Experience. It's not liked, isn't enjoyable, uninteresting, no fun.	19%	21%	24%	32%	16%	25%	15%	23%
Not in Mood. When not feeling good, when ill, hot, tired, in serious moods.	14	15	15	11	13	12	19	23
Disorganized. Gets out of hand, is disorganized, too rough, etc.	0	4	4	4	3	11	9	14
Satiation. You have too much, the same thing over and over, etc.	5	11	4	7	13	6	12	4
Frustration. You don't like the people, they quit, want own way, etc.	24	21	19	14	13	16	19	23
No Benefits. When losing, people laugh, can't do it well.	10	9	8	7	16	11	9	5
Pressure-Strain. It's too demanding, not relaxing, tires you out.	0	5	3	11	0	4	5	4
Coercion. You don't want to do it, would rather do something else.	14	5	6	7	6	3	2	4
NEVER Dislike Play.	10	5	10	7	20	10	10	0
Other.	4	4	7	0	0	2	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(21)	(117)	(72)	(28)	(32)	(114)	(67)	(22)

TABLE 79
When Play Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status

	Female				Male			
	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low
Positive Experience. It's fun, enjoyable, exciting, interesting.	40%	43%	55%	45%	54%	54%	50%	41%
Tension-Reduction. When it relaxes, refreshes, get diversion, lose worries.	21	17	13	15	14	14	11	13
Satisfaction. When everyone joins in, sense of belonging, like the others.	17	20	10	13	12	12	15	13
No Coercion. When free to do as desired, what you really want to.	7	1	4	2	6	3	1	2
Rewarding. When you win, receive praise, builds you up, exercise.	10	4	6	11	7	5	13	11
Good Mood. You feel like playing, you're ready for it, etc.	4	5	5	9	3	5	7	11
Other.	1	10	7	5	4	7	3	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(81)	(134)	(107)	(82)	(91)	(151)	(100)	(54)

TABLE 80
When Play Is Liked (Major Point) by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male			
	High		Low		High		Low	
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ
Positive Experience. It's fun, enjoyable, exciting, interesting.	58%	42%	54%	55%	35%	60%	52%	46%
Tension-Reduction. When it relaxes, refreshes, get diversion, lose worries.	21	16	15	13	14	15	8	23
Satisfaction. When everyone joins in, sense of belonging, like the other.	11	22	13	6	21	10	8	23
No Coercion. When free to do as desired, what you really want to.	0	1	3	6	7	2	0	4
Rewarding. When you win, receive praise, builds you up, exercise.	0	4	6	3	3	5	20	0
Good Mood. You feel like playing, you're ready for it, etc.	0	6	4	6	14	3	8	4
Other.	10	9	5	11	6	5	4	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(19)	(111)	(69)	(31)	(29)	(116)	(65)	(26)

Experience reasons and more give Mood reasons. There was also a tendency for more of the low IQ boys to never dislike play (although in the case of the working-class white boys, an equal number of the low IQ and bright boys gave this response). However, overall, more of the middle-class boys, especially those with low IQ's said they never disliked play. Likewise, more of the middle-class boys don't like play when they feel Coerced. More of the Negro boys, especially the Low Congruent Status boys gave the Disorganized response.

When Play is Liked

The next item on play was "If you ever like play, tell why you like it." No one said they never like play. Half of the boys and girls like it when it's exciting, novel, competitive, and so on (Positive Experience), when the activity itself emotionally involves one in a positive way (Table 79). One-in-seven like play when it serves a tension-reduction function, when it refreshes or relaxes, when you forget your problems, when you get a respite from routine and drudgery. More girls than boys said this was the most important aspect of play. Another one-in-seven like play when social needs are satisfied (Satisfaction). They say: if you like the people, if everyone joins in, when there is a sense of belonging to the group. One-in-eight like play when it results in some direct rewards. They say such things as when you win, get praise, learning something (Rewarding). One-in-sixteen like play when in the Mood for it. They say: when rested, relaxed, ready for it, feel like playing. More of the lower status boys and girls gave a Mood reason for liking play. Finally, a few gave as the most important feature of play, lack of force, freedom of choice. They said such things as when free to do what you want and when it's something you really want to do. This idea was more characteristic of the High Congruent Status boys and girls.

There is little that seems noteworthy with respect to the incongruent groups of girls. The low IQ middle-class and High Congruent Status girls tend to give more of the Tension-Reduction reasons (21% compared with 13-16% of the other four groups, Tables 79 and 80). More of the bright working-class girls (22%) but fewest of the bright Negro girls (6%) give Social Satisfaction reasons.

Among the boys, within class-race comparisons, the brighter boys give more of the Positive Experience type of reason for liking play than do the low IQ boys. There is also a tendency for the brighter boys to be more characterized by the Tension-Reduction type of reason. More of the low IQ working class like play when it's Rewarding (20% to 0-11% of the other groups) and more of the middle-class boys see No Coercion as the important feature of liked play.

The Meaning of Activities

The factor socres for work and play will be presented in this section as will those for the concept occupation. Occupation will be considered here for comparison purposes because it can be thought of as a type of activity and because of it's relationship to work in the minds of most people.

Play is regarded as by far the most easygoing of all the concepts included in the ratings (a Difficulty factor score of 38). Mother was the concept closest to it on this dimension (with a score of 42). The definitions of play and the like and dislike reasons given would support this notion of the easy-goingness quality of play. Occupation collectively was regarded as only moderately difficult (51) and Work as more tough-going, frightening, difficult (54). At this perceived level of difficulty, Work was even with the concepts School, Future, and Achievement. Only Father's Job was seen as more difficult (57).

Play compared with all other concepts, was rated at the mean on the Vigor dimension, near the concept, The Present and Occupation (49). Work was regarded more vigorous (53); Father's Job (59) and Father (60) were the only others of the fifteen concepts rated to be seen as more masculine-vigorous.

Play, surprisingly, was rated only moderately high on the Evaluative dimension (51). Apparently play is regarded as good, pleasant, and fun but not that important and, according to the cognitive material, somewhat more of a passive than an active type of activity (i.e., the absence of goals, the absence of coercion, and the absence of pressure). Occupation is seen as slightly negative in affective meaning (49) and Work as quite negative (46). School Teacher is near Work on the Evaluative dimension (45) but the most negatively rated concept was Influence (to have power over others, 43).

We will discuss the findings for the subgroups for each concept separately, then again consider them together for the different sets of boys and girls as they appear in the meaning space defined by these factors.

Work. The girls in our sample tend to regard Work as slightly less negative than do the boys, but the boys rate it much higher on the Vigor dimension (Table 81). The Vigor difference probably reflects the different kinds of work typically encountered by the different sexes. The sex difference in the listing of work activities was not presented earlier but some relevant percentages can be cited here. Although both sexes mentioned physical work more often than any other kind (in terms of our coding categories), the girls tended to list housework (65%) in contrast to the more vigorous type activities mentioned by the males (pulling stumps, shoveling dirt, hard labor, 65%). Even in the

TABLE 81
The Meaning of Work by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				F-
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	46	47	47	47	47	46	44	45	44	3.5
Difficulty	54	56	54	53	52	56	56	52	52	4.9
Vigor	53	50	51	49	50	54	55	56	53	10.6
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 82
The Meaning of Work by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		F-
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**Ratio**
Evaluative	49	46	46	49	43	44	44	46	2.8
Difficulty	54	55	53	53	56	56	53	52	1.9
Vigor	53	51	49	50	56	55	56	57	7.7
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

references to mental work this difference in emphasis is apparent. The references of the girls tended to be relatively mild, e.g., doing homework, studying, and writing themes. The girls had twice as many such references as did the boys. In contrast, the boys had over twice as many which implied much greater intensity, e.g., concentrated study and taking tests. These differences would suggest that work was more of a passive, easy-going experience for the girls in contrast to the males who experience it as something of greater vigor and more intensity. It will be recalled that, in defining work, the boys tended much more than the girls to emphasize the effort and strain aspect of work.

Both the boys and girls rate Work as difficult, but the higher status level boys and girls see it as more tough-going than do the lower status levels.

The low IQ middle-class girls rate Work more highly on the Vigor dimension than do the other girls (53, Table 82). This rating is comparable to that of the Low Congruent Status boys who had the lowest Vigor score of any group of boys. Any other noteworthy differences among the Incongruent Status groups will be commented on when we reconsider the three concepts again later.

Play. Boys rate Play high on Vigor (53, Table 83) while girls rate it low (46). Again, this very likely reflects their different perceptions of what constitutes typical play experiences. We find on turning again to the listing of play activities that many more of the girls than boys mentioned all types of social activities, while many more boys mentioned team sports. Girls tended also more frequently to mention all kinds of recreational activities such as table games, other games, movies, and hobbies. The lower status boys rate Play as somewhat more vigorous than do the higher status boys.

TABLE 83
The Meaning of Play
by Sex and Status

		Female				Male				
Factors	**Total**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**High**	**HiIn**	**LoIn**	**Low**	**F-Ratio**
Evaluative	51	53	54	51	50	53	52	51	49	7.0
Difficulty	38	38	38	39	37	39	39	40	40	1.7
Vigor	50	47	46	46	47	52	52	54	54	15.1
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 84
The Meaning of Play
by Sex and Status Incongruence

	Female				Male				
	High		Low		High		Low		
Factors	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**LoIQ**	**LoCl**	**HiRc**	**HiIQ**	**F-Ratio**
Evaluative	53	54	51	52	52	52	51	51	3.5
Difficulty	37	38	38	39	40	38	41	38	1.5
Vigor	46	46	46	47	50	53	54	53	9.6
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

It is of interest that the Evaluative ratings tended to be higher for the higher status levels. The Low Congruent status boys (49) and girls (50) surprisingly enough, rate play as affectively neutral. There was no sex or status difference in the Difficulty scores; all rated play as very easy-going.

The differences among the incongruent status groups tend to reflect the sex and status differences already referred to. The low IQ middle-class boys were the most deviant with a Vigor score of 50 (Table 84); all other groups of boys see play in more masculine-vigorous terms.

Occupation. As with Work and Play, Occupation tends to be regarded as more masculine-vigorous by the boys than by the girls (Table 85). In addition, the Vigor scores tend to increase with lower status. This likely reflects the kinds of occupations with which they are most familiar, the higher status levels are exposed to the more sedentary type and the lower status levels are familiar with the more physically demanding jobs. On the other hand, those occupations which would contribute to the meaning of occupations for the higher status levels are more difficult, more demanding in other ways. And this is reflected by the differences in the Difficulty scores of the different status levels; the two lower status levels see Occupation as relatively neutral (49-50) while the higher levels rate it as difficult, tough (53-54). This status difference for Difficulty is reflected also in the scores of the girls.

Girls rate Occupation as somewhat positive on the Evaluative dimension while the boys see Occupation as neutral or somewhat negative. Among the boys, Occupation is rated more negative by the lower status levels. This is paralled somewhat by the girls in that the Low Congruent Status girls have the lowest Evaluative score (50) among the girls.

Higher status boys see Occupation as affectively neutral, tough-going and not very vigorous. In contrast, the lower status boys rate is as negative, neither tough nor easy, and as quite vigorous.

The scores of the incongruent groups largely reflect the status and sex differences already discussed. The major single exception is that the bright Negro girls rate Occupation very positively (54) on the Evaluative dimension (Table 86).

Work, Play, and Occupation. The boys apparently experience all activities as more masculine-vigorous than do the girls. This would seem to reflect the sex-linked nature of the kinds of activities participated in in the past and present, and anticipated in the future as well as reflecting how they experience even similar activities. Boys rate Work per se as more vigorous and collectively see Occupation and Play as comparable on this meaning dimension. All groups of boys tend to see Work as both difficult and vigorous while they tend to rate Occupation as either difficult or vigorous. The High Congruent Status, bright working-class, and low IQ middle-class boys tend to see Occupation as more difficult than vigorous, tend to rate Work as more difficult, and tend to rate Play more positively than do the other three groups. The other groups, the Low Congruent Status, low IQ working-class, and bright Negro boys rate Occupation more vigorous than difficult, rate Work as less vigorous than the other boys, and tend to rate Play as affectively neutral. It was remarked before that the low IQ middle-class boys rate play as neither high nor low on Vigor.

The girls, collectively, tend to rate all three of these concepts somewhat more positive or less negative than do the boys. The High Congruent Status, bright working-class, and low IQ middle-class girls, the same set that tended to cluster among the boys, rate Work as more

TABLE 85
The Meaning of Occupation
by Sex and Status

Factors	Total	Female				Male				F-Ratio
		High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	High	HiIn	LoIn	Low	
Evaluative	49	51	51	52	50	50	48	48	47	5.8
Difficulty	51	53	52	50	50	53	54	49	50	5.5
Vigor	49	47	47	46	47	51	51	53	54	11.7
		(87)	(148)	(126)	(89)	(97)	(169)	(112)	(60)	

TABLE 86
The Meaning of Occupation
by Sex and Status Incongruence

Factors	Female				Male				F-Ratio
	High		Low		High		Low		
	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	LoIQ	LoCl	HiRc	HiIQ	
Evaluative	50	51	51	54	48	49	48	47	4.0
Difficulty	52	52	50	50	54	53	49	50	3.5
Vigor	47	47	46	46	51	51	53	52	6.3
	(22)	(122)	(82)	(35)	(33)	(131)	(77)	(27)	

Summary

One of the interesting conclusions we can draw from the data presented in this chapter is the near universality of both agreeable and disagreeable work and play experiences. Work and play appear to be liked or disliked to the degree it is seen to satisfy or frustrate the satisfaction of various emotional and other needs. We can infer from the kinds of ideas and feelings expressed concerning work and play that, overall, work, more than play, tends to be seen in terms of task-relevant features. That is, need satisfaction (or frustration) may be seen as related directly to features of the activity or to characteristics of the setting. The meaning of work tends to include proportionately more of the activity-relevant notions than does the meaning of play. It is of interest also that for both work and play, more of the "dislike" responses tend to be of the task-irrelevant kind. This suggests that activities, work or play, which are potentially satisfying, are found to be disagreeable because of events independent of the nature of the activity itself.

The kinds of activities these boys and girls include as work or play represent a broad range. Play activities include the full range of sports, team and social, and the full range of leisure-time activities, games, hobbies, movies, TV, records, and fooling around, and a variety of coed activities. Work included all kinds of tasks, specific jobs and jobs in general, mental activities, and even strenuous athletics. Within any general work or play activity boys tended to more frequently mention the more strenuous, physically demanding, more effortful examples. We noted that the meanings of work, occupation, and play for the boys tended to be more vigorous, effortful, than for the girls. Overall, for these three types of activities, there tended to be a negative association between the Vigor and Evaluative scores over all groups of boys and girls. The less positive the activity was rated, the stronger, more vigorous.

The boys, when defining work, tended to emphasize the effortful aspect while girls tended more to note its instrumental nature. More girls than boys like work when it involves social satisfactions and when something gets done. More boys than girls like work when its not too demanding and when they get something out of it.

More of the boys than girls define play as a source of tension reduction. More of them don't like it when not in the mood for play or when things get so out of hand, then enjoyment is curtailed.

More of the girls than boys define play negatively as not work and dislike it when the satisfaction of social needs is frustrated. More boys than girls say they never dislike play.

The higher status levels are more likely to view work as effortful while the lower status levels more frequently emphasize its instrumental nature. The higher status levels like work when it's interesting and when it results in something, a product or a state. They dislike work when it interferes with a more preferred activity, when they feel forced into it (two notions with a common theme), when nothing seems to be accomplished, and when it is of little or no interest to them (again, two notions with a common theme). The lower status levels, more frequently than the higher levels, say they like work when they obtain some reward from it, when it is easy for them, and when it fills time that otherwise may have been wasted. They dislike work when it is difficult and therefore results in tension for them, when not in the mood for it and when they get nothing out of it, i.e., no rewards.

Play, of course, is defined by all status levels as a fun-pleasure activity. However, more of the higher status level boys and girls than the lower status group defined play as a means to tension-reduction and as something one was not forced to do. More of the low than high status levels defined work in social terms. More of the high than low groups say they dislike play when it creates tension, rather than reducing it; when there are such experiences as being laughed at (again creating rather than releasing tension); when one is forced to do it (tension again), or when one has had enough of the activity. The higher status levels seem to say they dislike play when it becomes a source of new tensions rather than a means of tension reduction. More of these boys and girls give a strange reason for liking play, when free to do as one wishes. There is reason to infer from many of the work and play responses that a major source of disagreeable experiences is lack of discretion permitted these youth in chosing what they would prefer doing. The higher status boys and girls, more often than the lower status youth, seem more likely to say something like this. The lower status boys and girls do seem to give us a similar message but in interestingly different terms. They say they like play when in the mood for it and dislike it when not in the mood. It seems we have here a difference in expressive and cognitive style. The higher levels (and the brighter youth) tend to interpret the experience in more systemic terms, more in terms of the source of the pressure, the other demands on their time, and their reaction to the pressure. The lower status teenagers, on the other hand, seem to interpret similar experiences more in terms of their initial feeling of readiness or inclination to do what's asked. This is more of a passive, low fate control, kind of response. The higher status youth, on the other hand, imply greater resistance and the notion that they feel they should have some say concerning what they do and when. Finally, more of the lower status youth also dislike play when the activity structure isn't maintained sufficiently to permit need satisfaction. Over twice as many of these Low Congruent Status boys and girls gave such a response than any other status level. This suggests they have more of a problem of impulse control, individually and collectively, than do the higher status level youth. We have already noted that the boys, somewhat more than the girls appear to also have this problem.

We will have little to add to the summary with respect to group differences in their cognitions about work and play. In general, we noted that when we paired the two middle-class groups, the two white working-class groups, and the two Negro groups, that the differences tended to be in the direction of the brighter groups being similar and the low IQ groups being similar. We shall, however, review the findings concerning their different conceptions of Work, Play, and Occupation.

High Congruent Status

Among the boys, these high status boys rated Play as more positive, rated Occupation as neither positive or negative (the rest of the groups saw it as negative) and rated work as less negative than most others. In general, though now the lowest, they tended to view all these activities as less vigorous than most of the other groups of boys. They were among those who rated work high on the tough-difficult dimension. They tended to see both Occupation and Work as more tough-difficult than vigorous.

The High Congruent Status girls were not substantially different from the other groups of girls in the meanings Work, Play, and Occupation hold for them. The girls generally tended to be more consistent from group to group than did the boys. These girls view Work and Occupation as being more tough-difficult than did the other groups of girls. In both cases, their ratings were comparable to those of the boys and the same was true with respect to Play on this dimension. It seems, then, that the experiences of these teenagers with activities tend to be such that their meanings along the difficulty dimension are similar. We noted in the discussion earlier in this chapter where within group sex differences occurred that the difference often tended to be less between the boys and girls of this group.

Bright Negro Group

These boys rated Work as more vigorous than did the others. They tended, compared with the others, to see Work as less negative but Occupation as more negative. They tended to view all three activities as somewhat less difficult or more easy-going than did the others. They rate both Work and Occupation higher on Vigor and Difficulty.

The girls, compared with most other girls, rate Occupation and Work more positively.

Bright White Working-Class Group

These boys were among the groups who rated Occupation as only slightly vigorous, but as difficult-tough going. The same set (which includes the two middle-class groups of boys) also rated Work as very difficult. They, along with the bright Negro boys see play as more easy-going than do the others.

The girls rate Work as somewhat vigorous and as difficult. They tend also to see Occupation as more difficult than do most others.

Low IQ Middle-Class Group

These boys see Work as more negative than do any other groups of boys or girls. They also see it as more vigorous and difficult than most others. They view Occupation, along with two other groups, to be only slightly vigorous but see it as more difficult than any others. They are the only group of boys not seeing Play as masculine. They rated it neither masculine nor feminine. They rate Play more positive than average for the boys. This group of boys had the highest proportion who claimed never to dislike Play (one-in-five).

The girls rated Work as more vigorous than the other girls and as only slightly negative. They rated Occupation neither positive nor negative; most other groups of girls saw it as positive.

Low IQ White Working-Class Group

Compared with the other groups of boys, these tend to see Work as more negative and more vigorous, and as somewhat less tough-difficult. Occupation is rated somewhat on the easy-going side of the Difficulty dimension and it is seen as more vigorous than is true of the other groups (with the exception of the Low Congruent Status boys). These same two groups see Play to be more vigorous than the others. The low IQ working-class boys see Play as less easy-going than the others and rate it only slightly positive.

The girls were among those seeing Work as negative and they were the only group to rate it feminine. They were also among those rating Occupation and Play the most feminine-slow-weak. They saw Play as only slightly positive, less positive than most others, and as more easy-going.

Occupation was rated as neither difficult nor easy; on the average, overall, the girls rated it difficult.

Low Congruent Status

These boys see Work as less vigorous than the others and as less difficult (along with the Bright Negro boys). On the other hand, they rate Occupation the most vigorous of any group and the most negative (this along with the Bright Negro boys again). They see it as neither difficult nor easy. They are the only group to see Play as negative. They, along with the low IQ working-class boys, see it as more vigorous than do the others.

The girls stand out in their Work ratings only in rating Work as less difficult than the other girls. They rate Occupation as neither positive nor negative and as neither difficult nor easy (most groups tended to rate it positive and difficult). They rated play also as neither positive nor negative in contrast to the positive ratings of the other groups. They were comparable to the Low Congruent Status boys in respect to not viewing Play as positive. They see Play as relatively more easygoing and relatively less feminine-slow-weak but none of the groups of girls differed much in rating Play on these dimensions.

Some Trends

The High Congruent Boys and Girls seem often to be more similar to each other in their cognitions and attitudes than do the boys and girls in other groups. There seems to be a tendency for sex-role activities and responsibilities to be less differentiated in the middle-class than is true at the lower class levels.

We have noted also the greater emphasis on effort and activity made by the boys when listing work or play activities, and considering their meanings. The findings would seem to reflect the difference in typical sex-role related activity experiences.

It seems teenagers typically encounter activities, work and play, which are not particularly of their choice. Evidently we see here one of the consequences of the experience of having more or less personal resources available for coping with such problems. These with the greater resources interpret the experience in more contextual terms as a coercive or restrictive type of experience. Those with lesser resources, on the other hand, tend to find a more simple cognitive meaning in comparable experiences. They interpret the experience in terms of their "mood." They presumably acquiesce uncomplainingly when "in the mood" and grudgingly when not "in the mood."

Finally, we noted several themes running through the meaning of Work for these boys and girls. They were pressure, effort, strain, achievement, responsibility, and so on. These would seem to imply some personal cost. Work is disliked when either the demands seem too great or the rewards inadequate. It is liked when the amount of reward is not deemed too little for the investment of effort. In contrast, consider the theme of play: relief, relax, diversions from life, freedom from worries, peace, effortlessness, aimlessness, friendship, contentment, and rebuilding. Play is liked when it serves these functions well. It is disliked, not so much when it fails to meet such ends as when it generates tensions and frustrations rather than relieving them. Play, then, in contrast to work, is disliked when it becomes costly.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Concepted Orientation

Why should attitudes and cognitions of young people concerning the nature of work be a crucial focus for study? For one thing, one characteristically spends more than a quarter of his week, a half or more of his weekly waking hours, at work. Timewise then, this certainly represents the greatest investment of all ones activities. In addition, previous to entry into the labor market, the time investment would seem to be almost as significant in that one is involved in work relevant activities such as school in general, specific career preparation, and what passes for "real" work for youth--chores and part-time jobs. Finally, according to the stratification literature, one's work, his occupation, is probably the most significant of the ranking systems in terms of visible social status; one's occupation is clearly the most significant membership group to which he belongs. It defines the place of not only the job holder, but his entire family in the larger social system.

Do workers agree; do their cognitions and feelings about work reflect this assumed significance? The answer would appear to be yes. In one study the respondents were asked if they would continue to work if they could afford not to. In general they answered affirmatively (86% of the middle-class and 76% of the working class) and offered such reasons as: to keep occupied (32%), justifies existence (5%), gives feeling of self-respect (5%), it's good, healthy for the person (10%), habit (6%), without work would feel lost, useless, bored, not know what to do with time, would go crazy (30%) (Morse & Weiss, 1955). In another study it was reported that an individual deprived of work lost his sense of status, his sense of identification with society, and apparently the very basis of self-evaluation; it was suggested that we depend on work as a source of self-evaluation and the basis upon which to pattern modes of adaptive or reality-oriented behavior. A job, however poor, is almost always better than no job at all. Much of the research literature on the effects of unemployment (Friedmann, 1961) and on the unemployed of the depression testifies to this (Bakke, 1940; Rundquest & Sletto, 1936). It is work which reflects one's integration into the human community regardless of his orientation. For example:

> No other technique for the conduct of like attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for his work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, in the human community (Freud, 1961, p.80).

> A man's work is one of the more important parts of his social identity, of his self; indeed of his fate in the one life he has to live, for there is something almost as irrevocable about the choice of occupation as there is about a choice of a mate. (Hughes, 1958, p. 43).

One's work, for males is probably as nearly as central to his sex role identity in defining for himself what he is and how he's doing as any other dimension. This is why, for males, failure in the school system (The "work" of youth), is so much more intense a failure experience than for females and why failing males are so much more likely to drop out of school. Females tend to drop out for other reasons, largely having to do with unsatisfying interpersonal relations. It is suggested that success in school for the male is experienced by him and regarded by others as representing success in fulfilling his sex-role obligations to society. This tends to be seen both as an immediate success and as an instrumental success in that it has implications for one's future occupational success. To fail is doubly a failure, which is what makes the failure so intensely felt--one is not only a failure, but in a sense, has no future.

The meaning of work for teenagers as inferred partly from how it was characterized directly by the respondents in our study and partly from how it contrasted with their characterization of play. The themes running through most of the play attitudes were of relief, peace, effortlessness, freedom, aimlessness, friendship, contentment, rebuilding, etc. Play is disliked when it doesn't fulfill these functions, when there is too much pressure, when one can't do the activity well, when people don't follow the rules, when the activity pattern isn't maintained, when, in short the activity isn't a source either of relief or replenishment, but is a source of effort and therefore, of costs.

In contrast, the themes running through the work responses were of pressure, effort, strain, achievement, responsibility, growth, etc., in short an expenditure of psychic resources. Work is disliked when it doesn't serve these purposes well. That is, when it's not stimulating, when no personal rewards are attained, or, on the other hand, when the costs are too much, or one hasn't the resources to spare at the time. Disliked work is thus seen as either too costly or as a case of insufficient benefits; i.e., as too demanding or a waste of time.

Considering the personal cost of work implied in these observations, it should come as no surprise that work should be regarded with some conflict. Though costly, work activities, in contrast to play, nevertheless, have an attraction, because it is through them that one develops the skills and habits of the adult role which is a prerequisite for taking one's place in society. They like work, even though costly, when it serves this purpose because the rewards (growth, challenge, etc.) are correspondingly great; they don't like it when it falls short.

Poor work experience represents emotionally more of a negative experience than having a disagreeable play experience. A poor play experience may often represent a minimal personal investment situation; one can usually walk away without additional energy investment, while a disagreeable work experience represents a poor investment--cost without adequate return--and a situation one can't so easily walk away from. The frustration experienced in play activities will tend to be relatively transient; one can usually disengage himself from the activity when he becomes persuaded of its negative character. The frustrations of work activities, on the other hand, will tend to last longer, to difficult to escape. To sum up this point, poor play experiences tend usually to mean only that a need is not adequately satisfied while a disagreeable work experience usually means more than that; it often means considerable frustration.

It was inferred, from the above analysis of the nature of work and play that it is through the work, rather than the play, activities that youth develop the more central facets of their identities and personalities. By way of contrast, it would appear that it is through play that people attain relief from the relatively more strenuous experience of psychic development. It seems that play serves the function of refreshment, of replenishment of psychic energy for turning back to the, through more effort, perhaps more enduringly satisfying work activities. The work-tasks are activities which require a greater investment of psychic energy and which "cost" more as a consequence.

Freud noted the ambivilant nature of work--it's approach-avoidance character. He sees all activities characterized as work to imply a special element of pressure, of constraint. He contrasts this with leisure-time activities which are free of constraint and where chance and choice determine what one does. Work is seen to mediate the realization of one's desires and needs and to be the means through which one is integrated into society. Without work, therefore, the individual would experience both personal and familial disintegration.

Note the paradoxical aspect of work which emerges from the preceeding discussion--though it's a source of stress and for all at times, and for many most of the time, a source of disagreeable experiences--it's nevertheless unavoidably and inevitably a necessary activity in terms of one's identity and social integration.

On the one hand, work seems necessary for integration into the system and at the same time, can be seen as a means to alienation. It would seem that the social nature of work needs to be reexamined. This is what Dubin (1956) did in his study of industrial workers. He notes that less than a quarter of them were job oriented in that they tended to view factory work as a means to an end--a way of acquiring income for their non-work needs and activities. Conversely, over three in four did not see their jobs and work place as central life interests. They found their preferred social associations and activities outside of employment. The emotional impact of the work and factory then is seen as quite modest in terms of such general life experiences.

However, more than three in five _were_ job oriented with respect to their significant experiences in organizations. They tended to choose their company as the most meaningful context for themselves when their life experience in organizations was brought into focus. So the most significant formal organization ties and bonds is the employing one. In addition, over three in five chose their shop as the place where their preferred relationships with the purely technical aspects of their environment take place.

Dubin's findings, then, clarify the issue of how the worker can be alienated from his work *per se* while at the same time experience being bound into the larger system through his formal organization experience, the latter a significant and necessary social experience. We find, then, that the worker in general, regardless of whether he obtains intrinsic satisfactions from his work, is nevertheless bound-in, integrated into, the larger social system through his company much as conceptualized by Durkheim in the *Division of Labor*. (1933).

Alienation from work has consequences for the kinds and meanings of non-work pursuits of the worker. It is in the satisfaction of the needs not fulfilled in work that determines, for the different social strata the characteristic meanings of these activities, physical and mental health, family relationships, etc. Likewise, the absence of work, in the case of unemployment or enforced retirement, for these same workers also has consequences for non-work activities (which often seem to loose their significance entirely), for physical and mental health, and for family and other interpersonal relations.

We have suggested that youth acquire the class-associated attitudes about work, play, and related concepts before entry into the job market. It is suggested also that effects comparable to the class effects are acquired independently as a function of race and IQ. We need to briefly review our conception of how these effects are medicated and why they are similar.

Comparability of effects. It has been assumed that these cognitions and feelings are status effects. How direct or indirect the attribute-effect link may be will not concern us here. Actually, there are many channels, some more direct than others, mediating the effects. Class and race mean many things, but consistent things. All these meanings feed back, via family, school, peers, strangers, etc. In a heterogeneous setting, one's position on the class, race, and intelligence dimensions and the meaning of that position are perceived quite early; mistaken cognitions are soon corrected. Some of the status-associated acquired orientations affect how the youth handles the educational setting, as well as indirectly (i.e., in interaction with the status-associated orientations). The phrase, "status-associated orientations" is meant to include such factors as motivational patterns, cognitive styles, and sub-culturally defined sex roles and other identity dimensions.

It is inferred that the effects (for example: work attitudes) are status effects because the three variables, class, race, and IQ have in common both within the school system and without, that they represent attributes with which are associated differential rewards, privileges, recognition, rights, expectations, and standards. IQ may seem an unusual variable to be treated with class and race. However, we are dealing with high school youth and within the school system imputed intellectual ability is a definite claim to prominance. Even in those settings wherein the student culture does not support high achievement goals, those who do well are nevertheless looked up to. They are respected, if not liked.

IQ appears somewhat out of place with the other two dimensions because it is not an ascribed status as is race, nor quite the same as class which is generally considered an achieved status, though often with some equivocation. Class however, for these youth, represents class of origin, so in a sense is an ascribed status so far as many experiences are concerned.

IQ may probably, within the context of this analysis, be seen as comparable to the education variable in other status studies. The attitudes they generate in the person and in others (respect and sometimes hostility when high; ridicule when low) would seem to be similar.

Mediating Factors. One of the clear conclusions one might draw from research and theory is that the intrinsic orientation toward work has been associated with good experiences while the instrumental experience is associated with poor experiences. The literature appears generally to imply that these orientations are effects of work experience. However, it is assumed that most scholars would concede some influence to at least two other principle factors--direct effects of experience with work-type activities (such as the work of the educational setting) and learned social definitions of work acquired indirectly through the family, based on the father's experiences. Certainly, given a certain meaning fo work shared by the family, that meaning would be attributed to chores or other work required of the youth.

Class. It is clear that fathers at different educational levels bring home different attitudes concerning occupations and the world of work to their family (Chinoy, 1955, Aberle & Naegele, 1952). It is also quite apparent that the satisfaction of the father with his job is known within his family and that he is aware of the attitude about the job of his wife and children. Dyer (1962) reports correlations of .65 and .61 respectively between the father's job satisfaction and his perception of the wife's satisfaction and her actual satisfaction. The correlations with the children's perceived and actual satisfactions were .42 and .64 respectively. It is probably that children know much more about their father's attitude about work in general and his job in particular than they do about the actual details of his work.

Another source of the child's growing sets of attitudes about himself and work (and many other things) are the social definitions which define race, class, occupations, success, and failure. It is with such background that he interprets the meanings of his father's job, satisfactions, and frustrations, and indeed the father himself.

We noted some of these effects. The boys with congruent status, whether high or low, were generally considerably more accepting of the father's job and apparently more positive toward the father. The boys with incongruent statuses, but who are bright and therefore potentially mobile, seem especially critical of their father's job and of the father. We don't find quite the same relationships among the girls. In general, the girls appear to respond more in terms of the father than his job when asked about his job. We have inferred that the meaning of the father and his job tends to be different for the girls than the boys. The bright Negro girls are quite postive in comparison with the boys, the low IQ middle-class girls are quite positive in comparison with the boys, and the Low Congruent Status girls are quite negative in comparison with the boys.

Besides the sex difference in the meaning of the father's role there was the interesting suggestion from the findings that is the middle-class boys who expect the father to represent a model for them (an attitude certainly does not so clearly seem to be an expectation). The bright working-class boys, white and Negro, whatever the subcultural expectations, appear explicitly to reject their father as a relevant a model for them.

Working-class youth come from families where the father and the fathers of his friends have lower-status occupations, from a subculture which tends to focus on the non-intrinsic characteristics of the job such as pay, hours, and other working conditions, and, if concerned with features of the job itself, tend to focus on its ease or difficulty. This is not to express an indictment of these attitudes as such. As has been pointed out, low level jobs are so organized in our present industrial society that the worker is almost forced into alienation from the task and such attitudes are inevitable (Bell, 1956). Such jobs are not so organized that the middle-class imperatives for success are relevant; that is, hard work and inventiveness or character and personality. Getting ahead becomes redefined as security rather than mobility or promotion (Chinoy, 1952).

We noted such work and job attitudes among our respondents. However, these class-associated effects vary depending on the sex of the child and the IQ level of the child. In addition, the development of these attitudes and cognitions are partly a function of the kinds of experiences encountered and the sex-role associated definitions of the meanings of those experiences.

Although we often observed the tendency for the cognitions of the lower status youth to be non-intrinsic in nature, we found also that the girls tended to see meanings in more non-intrinsic terms than did the boys.

Race. The Negro youth sees much of what was summarized in the preceeding paragraph; but he also sees more. Pettigrew summarized the employment picture for Negores:

> Negroes employed by the federal government are still concentrated in the lower, blue-collar brackets and sparse in the upper, white collar brackets; in most unionized industries, basic racial employment patterns remain unaltered; Negro youth suffer from almost twice the unemployment rate of white youth; and Negro adults in general are still vastly underemployed, downgraded, and underpaid relative to comparably-educated segments of the white community (1964, p. 188).

Little, if any, research appears to have focused on the job attitudes of Negroes. Studies of the industrial worker have largely been of white "common man" workers. Negroes have held relatively fewer such jobs. The operatives and craftsmen of industry do experience some income insecurity insofar as layoffs resulting from management-union conflicts and economic downswings are concerned. But note that this represents loss of income, not of job; the skills represented by these workers are resources of great importance to their companies; collectively, they are not so easily replaced; the laid-off auto worker, for instance, fully expects to return to his job sooner or later. Contrast their position with that of the Negro worker who tends to be found in the lower level jobs in industry (when, indeed, he is found at all). He is considered to be, and is, replaceable, he is a victim of job as well as income insecurity. When laid-off, he has less expectation of returning to a job and must look for another. These experiences and the resultant attitudes of the Negro male are certainly apparent to the

Negro youth who also will be exposed to the consequences of such an unstable relationship to the world of work, such as among other things, loss of status within the family and the resultant family disorganization. This is reminiscent of what occurred in many families during the depression.

The Low Congruent Status Negro boys appear more accepting of the father's job situation than do the girls or the bright Negro boys. It may reflect some sensitivity concerning the social factors accounting for this employment picture resulting in an attitude about it which doesn't hold the father accountable. This attitude may partly stem from their own experiences in the educational setting wherein they have positions comparable to their father's in the larger social setting. The girls, however, are critical. Their attitude may well reflect an evaluation of the father with respect to his role within the familial setting rather than the larger social setting. Their attitude would seem to reflect the relative loss of status of the male within the primary social system, the family.

The bright Negro boys have achieved some status within the educational setting (from their point of view, as a function of their own efforts) and interpret their father's place in the economic structure as failure. The bright Negro girls, however, in contrast to the boys and the low IQ Negro girls, are quite positive about their father. It's less clear what we can make of this finding. It is likely that the low IQ Negro girls, who anticipate no great difference for themselves from what they observe is typical for the subculture adopt the prevailing attitudes. In contrast, the bright girls see (or perhaps just hope) for different experiences and as a result have developed a different set of attitudes and expectations concerning the male role and their relations to the male.

It was not clear that IQ differential would be a major factor, in terms of our study, outside the educational setting. We have found, however, that the brighter youth certainly interpret their social observations and experiences somewhat differently from their less bright peers. It seems likely that this is an instance of where one's feedback from the school concerning ability influences how these out of school experiences are interpreted and assimilated. In other words, it is suggested that the role IQ plays in the evaluation of father's job, for instance, is an indirect effect mediated by the effect of school feedback on one's identity, motivational patterns, etc. But the major effect is seen to be in the school setting to which we will now turn.

The school. The role of the school in shaping youth is considerable and can hardly be understated; the role has been expanding and will increase still. The significance of the role of the school is suggested by the following:

> The school is a battleground of ways of defining status. The "prior" social environments tend to define the child in ascriptive and particularistic terms; the future environments that the school anticipates for the student will define him more on achievement and universalistic criteria (Clark, 1964, p. 743).
>
> The kind of tutelage and status that the high school assigns students affects their lives and subsequent development more crucially than the content and quality of formal instruction (Friedenberg, 1963, p. 41).

How the student fares in this system is partly determined by his intellectual ability and partly by his social background. The role of the latter is evident in two ways. First in terms of such subcultural effects as cognitive styles and motivational patterns which may facilitate or handicap the child in dealing with the content and methods of the curriculum. Secondly, in terms of how the teacher reacts to the class and race-associated behavior and attitudes of the student.

We observed many of the effects of status as it relates to aspirations, feelings of potency, behavior, and other things. It is for the boys, especially, that status has a strong effect, although it is not absent for girls. We learned from the ratings of attributes made by the teachers that whether a girl was bright or not appeared to account for most of the variance in the ratings. It seems the girls adapt more easily to the expectations of the schools and feel much more positive about school and teachers than boys. They fall into the school routine more easily both with respect to accepting the tasks assigned and in behaving as deemed appropriate. Theirs is a smoother adjustment than is true of the boys; they acquaiesce. They tend to be rewarded and approved of by the teachers to the extent that they meet expectations. Those who do better are more approved of, are more friendly, cooperative, helpful, etc., and they like school more and approve of the teacher more. Those who are less approved of behave less positively and are even less rewarded. We had some indications that the girls were more inclined to see approval or disapproval as feedback concerning their competence. Those with the higher IQ's, the higher aptitude for the school work, get the approval and then behave as appropriate for approved ones and get more approval. Class and race, for the girls, appear to account for little.

The adjustment of the boys to the educational setting involves different dynamics. The requirements of the school with respect to tasks and behavior are much less congenial for the boys. In addition, their criteria for how they are doing is more complicated than is true of the girls. How they appear to the teacher is one thing but not the most significant thing for them. How they appear to their male and female peers is important and involves more than how they are doing academically. Doing relatively well academically is not irrelevant. It is important. It is a necessary condition for status within the setting for the boys. But it is only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition as it is for the girls. For the boys, simple approval of the teacher isn't sufficient, and seems to count for little if that's all one has. There was some suggestion that tending toward the more feminine standards might be a consequence of status-failure on the part of the low IQ middle-class boys. We found many indications, among them the ratings of the teachers, that the High Congruent Status boys were a group apart from the other groups of boys. Among the other groups, there was no second place; just those with low status and those seemingly undistinguished (which included the other two bright groups of boys and the low IQ middle-class boys). These high status boys are seen by their teachers to be influential, competent, outgoing, popular, and poised. They also see themselves to have the potency attributed to them by the teachers. One of the consequences of such high status is this increased feeling of self-worth, of potency, and as a further consequence, the liklihood of even better performance.

We observed many indications of the role of the school effect on the attitudes and cognitions these boys and girls develop about themselves. They have been well socialized with respect to how they are regarded tin the educational setting before they enter high school. A significant indication of their ideas about where they fit in and what their expectations are for the future is the program they select in high school. We noted the discontinuity between the High Congruent Status level and the next lower status level in the proportions of teenagers in this type of program. It seems, especially for the boys, that there is an interaction effect between social status and IQ which results in the especially highly regarded position of these boys and their high expectations concerning the future. We noted also that the other bright boys and girls had achieved some status and had learned from their experiences it was possible to "make something of themselves." We saw, as a consequence, their very positive attitude toward the school and teachers, more positive than that of the High Congruent Status boys and girls. It was also clear, from the proportions in college-prep programs, the proportions not definitely sure about finishing high school, and the proportions not definitely expecting college, that the low IQ boys and girls had learned their place well. Fewer were making plans for high level occupational success, fewer expected to attain a position other than that seen appropriate for them by the educational system, a low one.

We noted a high association between how the school (repersented by the teachers) viewed the different groups of boys and girls and how, in turn, the school and teachers were viewed by them. Both school and teachers were seen as tough and demanding but weak. School, as an institution, was more highly regarded than the teachers. It seems the youth have internalized the American values concerning the importance of education. Education may be regarded highly while the local school is dispised.

Status Congruence and Incongruence

We shall turn next to a summary of the findings for each of the six subgroups.

Two points made earlier concerning our subgroup breakdown bear repeating at this point. First, the problem of the intercorrelation among the variables IQ, race, and class lead to the typology we have used. It was felt that such an approach would permit a multivariant analysis wherein interaction effects might be observed should they exist. The second point concerns the interpretion of incongruence. Our basis of coding the boys and girls high and low on IQ and class reflect relative positions in the larger social system, not necessarily the school system. A different method of ranking the youth high and low would have to have been used so that we might interpret incongruence as referring to that seting. So the point we wish to re-emphasize, is that incongruence, in this analysis, must be interpreted in terms of the larger social system.

One of the advantages of the typology used is that is permited us to use the findings for the High Congruent Status (bright, white, middle-class) teenagers and the Low Congruent Status (Negro, low IQ, working-class) youth as anchor points for interpreting the cognitions and feelings of the other boys and girls, those with intermediate, incongruent, classifications.

We expected the findings for the High Congruent Status group would reflect their greater relative social integration, their feeling of belonging to and being part of the system, and conversely, that the results for the Low Congruent Status youth would reflect their relatively greater alienation. We discovered, of course, that we cannot always interpret the Low Congruent Status group to be the most alienated; it was noted that in many respects, it was the low IQ white working-class youth who seemed generally to be more alienated although all low IQ youth could be said to be alienated. Before proceeding, however, a further word is in order concerning relationship between alienation and integration. It was suggested earlier that alienation from work per se should not be interpreted as lack of integration into or alienation from the system for the industrial worker. It is necessary to consider whether this would apply also to the teenagers we shall be discussing.

The findings on alienation and integration, based on the industrial worker, might be interpreted as follows. To an extent, these workers, operatives and craftsmen, are men who have "arrived" in the sense of fulfilling their social obligations, their sex-role responsibilities. They tend to attain job and family stability. It seems clear that there often are many aspects of their jobs, their day-to-day workplace life which are constraining and demeaning which result in alienation from the work itself. However, the _social_ _meaning_ of having such a position is integrative in nature. The job holder is defined as a "social success" and so he defines himself. There are exceptions, certainly--the downward mobile worker, for instance--but the above picture would seem to generally characterize the industrial worker.

We have a somewhat different situation with respect to the high school youth who are "alienated" from the school system, the lower class, low IQ Negro and white youth. They are failures--the system defines them as failures and they define themselves as failures. Indeed, the poor student is more likely than the "A" student to interpret low grades as an indication of stupidity. There are many clear symbols of their low status. To participate actively in many social functions is a good indicator of integration, but these youth don't participate. In fact, they are often prevented from participation by the rules concerning qualification for participation in extra-curricular activities.

To graduate from high school is an indication of integration--and the low IQ contribute almost totally to the dropout rate. (There is probably no act more symbolic of marginality than "voluntarily" leaving the system.) It seems clear, then, that for these high school youth, we can interpret evidence of alienation to represent lack of or limited social integration.

It was not expected that the findings for the High Incongruent groups (white and middle-class, but low IQ and white and bright, but working-class) and the Low Incongruent groups (low IQ and working-class but white and Negro and working-class but bright) would necessarily fall between the two congruent groups. Indeed it was expected that we might interpret radical departure from linearity as evidence of their incongruence. It was also not expected, of course, that the incongruent groups would be similar to each other. Indeed it was expected that they would be quite different and so they were. Why they were expected to express attitudes and cognitions different from each other will be taken up below.

It has been said that one function of the school system is that it simultaneously contributes to social mobility and stratification, that it "endorses and supports the values and patterns of behavior of certain segments of the population... while instilling in others a sense of inferiority (Friedenberg, 1963, p. 49), that it "links forward and backward to the stratification system." (Clark 1964, p. 729). The effects on those with consistent statuses, who can therefore be expected to receive consistent inputs, positive or negative, who, indeed, learn to expect those inputs, can be easily seen.

But what of those who experience inconsistent feedback? The bright Negro will sometimes be treated as "superior" and sometimes as "inferior" as will the low IQ but middle-class youth. There will be some uncertainty about expectations, some ambiguity about where onw fits in, who he is, his worth, etc. Status Incongruence has been associated with unsatisfactory social relationships (Adams, 1953; Benoit-Smullyan, 1944; Landecker, 1952, 1960; Lenski, 1954), unstable self-images (Fenchel, 1951; Goffman, 1957; Hughes, 1944; Lenski, 1956; Zaleznik, 1958), social ambiguity (Goffman, 1957; Hughes, 1944; Lenski, 1954; Zaleznik, 1958), physiological and physical symptoms (Jackson, 1962; Jackson & Burke, 1965; King & Cobb, 1958), and other difficulties.

It's certainly likely that those with incongruent attributes will learn to compartmentalize; will learn that their status is high in some settings or under some conditions and low in others. However, even though behaviorally, some of the problems of expectations can be so handled, there remains the problem of personally resolving these conflicting inputs as evidenced by the range of consequences enumerated above. The person with incongruent statuses must always remember which "cap" he is wearing, he must constantly be uncomfortable, to be in a state of tension. One thing we discovered is that the dynamics are different for boys and girls, that the resolutism issue is a greater problem for the boys. We noted, for the boys, that the problem is major for any with incongruent statuses.

The problem for the boys is compounded by two other factors. Besides the incongruence problem, they are participating in a different kind of status system than that of the girls. Relative position is much more salient for them in terms of feelings of self-worth, potency, and so on. In addition, all boys have in common that the specific goals, the attainment of which may represent their successfully fulfilling their sex-role obligations, are more ambiguous and the means to those goals involve greater uncertainty than is true for the girls. The social goal of the girls, wife and mother, and the means to those goals, a suitable marriage, are, in contrast, remarkably clear and certain. This means the world of the boys is qutie different from that of the girls and much greater pressure is experienced by the boys both with respect to the social dynamics of the educational setting for them but with respect to their orientation toward the future.

We can see some of the factors affecting the kinds of cognitions and feelings boys have about such things as work, play, occupation, and jobs, and the fact that themes of pressure, strain, and effort should be emphasized. There is even an additional factor contributing differential variance for the two sexes with respect to the effort theme. The task and behavioral requirements of the school are much more congenial to the female than the male. The boy, from his first introduction to school finds himself in a more alien environment. It is no wonder that girls feel so much more positive about school and so many more manage to complete high school. It is likely the sex difference in congitive style, females tending more to leveling, a more diffuse style of perception, and the males tending to sharpening, a more analytic style, may be traced to these experiences. We have already noted the diffuseness style being reflected in the girls' saying the judgment of others was the major criterion for judging one's performance and the sharpener style reflected by the boys' seeing comparison with others as the major criterion.

Reactions to incongruence can be to blame something--self, others, or the system. Target of blame may depend in part on personal defensive styles but probably largely on the incongruous pattern. The target of blame and especially the response to experience, to judge from the findings reported in the literature, will follow from the incongrous pattern because the particular pattern will limit one's coping alternatives. For example, low racial-ethnic status cannot be changed through one's own efforts. Externalizing the blame and an orientation toward system change, given appropriate other status attributes, would be a more likely response.

Let's review some of the possible responses to incongruence. One can reject the reasonableness of the low status evaluation. He can take the position that it's not important if you're not bright (or not white or not middle-class), that what's important is whether you are cooperative and friendly, if people like you; that is, attempt to gain status (success, prestige, acceptance, etc.) through other means. Rejection of such evaluation by the males appears quite difficult because the status system is of such salience for their identity. The overall position in the system appears to be clear and to be internalized. The differences in attitudes and expectations for the different groups was striking. One consequence of having internalized these status inputs was the great differences we observed in the feelings of self potency.

Hostility directed at others, the system or system agents (teachers, for example) is another response. This is rejection of the agents rather than the importance of the content. This may be reflected in criticalness of the teachers and in behavior which annoys them but this would be relatively unadaptive. From our findings, it would appear to be the low IQ white working-class group that was most characterized by this reaction. They were, collectively, the least highly regarded by the teachers and they, in turn, were least generous in rating the teachers.

More of these boys than those of the other groups were seen as disciplinary problems and as likely to be in trouble with the police.

Another response is to retreat, to withdraw and associate only with one't own kind. This, of course, may be occurring along with other responses. For example, such subculture formation may represent considerable social support for distructive behavior in the school, for the expression of collective hostility directed at peers as well as at the school system itself. Status, based on strength, daringness, "cool," etc., and belongingness can be sought within the subculture.

We have no data, of course, on subculture formation. As a matter of fact, the study was not designed to deal primarily with reactions to incongruence so we lack sufficient data to specify in any detail all the possible styles of handling the problem. We do, however, have some clues.

Another possible response is to misinterpret the inputs painful to one's self-identity. Although such responses certainly occur whereby means of elaborate distortions one decides he is really bright or really somewhat white or really not low class, they represent more idiosyncratic accomodations, and need not concern us here. The inputs concerning status position are so generally consistent (per status dimension) at any time and over such a long period of time and are so visible, so public, that such a response would be difficult to maintain without serious mental difficulty.

Another response is to change one's position on the dimension of low status. Low class can be changed if one is bright. Low race cannot be changed and if associated with low class may limit the class change even if bright. Low IQ cannot be changed and not only may limit the possibility of upgrading class level but may presage the lowering of one's class level. Since it has been suggested that strain toward congruence is toward the high status, the possibility of moving downward must be quite painful. However, such changes are in the future and while an anticipated lower status can cause additional pain, an anticipated higher status cannot compensate entirely for the current status. The here and now has an immedicacy that is hard to understate for these teenage boys.

We can re-examine the styles of resolving disparate statuses in terms of a hierarchy of possible responses.

1. The most functional response, given the possibility, would be to attempt congruence at the highest status level. Seeming success would lead one to be generally supportive of the system and its agents because of its opportunity structure, although this support may be less emotional than intellectual. That is, the system is not accepted without some reservations. We found this approach apparently to most characterize the bright Negro boys and girls, although the bright white work-class group also, to a lesser extent. We noted the positive ratings of the teachers made by these boys and girls but also that more of the bright Negro boys than others also rated the teachers quite low.

2. Assuming there are barriers to full congruence, such as would be the case with low race, then one might attempt the full congruence otherwise possible and define his achievement as acceptable relative success. There will remain, however, criticalness regarding the system because of its ascriptive standards. Attaining such congruence may not be associated with feelings of failure, especially if associated with a liberal political orientation. However, denial of full status, especially for the male, must still have an effect.

3. A third response, if full congruence is blocked or limited, is a limited acceptance of the incongruent state, even when aligned in opposition to the larger system. The tensions accompanying the incongruent state, however, must remain. A way out for some is to reconceptualize what is important. One can "decide" other attributes are more important such as popularity, friendliness, personality, attractiveness, helpfulness, etc., and cultivate these. Success is then redefined and can result in some success such as suggested by "she's very nice in spite of her background." We noted some indications of such responses among our groups. But we also note the largely negative association between preferences for being most popular and the teachers' ratings of popularity. It seems that the status system is so central to the meanings of masculinity for the boys that acceptance of limited congruence is difficult, little else would be an acceptable substitute other than "outstanding athlete." Athletics is of sufficient importance within the community of which the school is a part that much is forgiven the really outstantind athlet (although he may still not be invited to dinner or be permitted to date the higher status girls). However, such a route to status is limited to those with outstanding talent; it's not a feasible path for most boys. We did observe considerable evidence that the low IQ middle-class girls had found a resolution of their experienced status disparity, a seemingly successful one. They seem to have decided quite early, to judge by the few who entered college prep programs, that "femininity" was to be their means to social success. Their teachers tended to view them as, collectively, quite attractive compared with the other girls.

4. Another pattern, if resolution is not possible, is to leave the setting if possible and since it is possible to leave the educational setting, we would expect this to be one response. Since this response is blocked before age 16, we can expect indications of withdrawal from participation or commitment to the system for some. From others we can expect evidence of rejection of the system, that is the school and/or the teachers. Finally, we will discover in some, hostility and aggression. Any of these responses may coincide with retreat via subculture formation, often aligned in resistance to the system. We noted the high proportions of the low IQ boys and girls who did not definitely expect to graduate from high school. It was of interest that this indication of alienation or withdrawal was more representative of the low IQ middle-class boys and girls than the Low Congruent Status youth. The low IQ white working-class boys, the group which seems the most hostile and aggressive, was comparable to the other two low IQ groups in the proportions not definitely sure of finishing high school. All these low IQ incongruent status groups of boys and girls expressed much more disfavor with the teachers than the others and, of course, were seen in a less favorable light by the teachers.

5. Finally, we have the case of threatened downward congruence and a related type of case, relative descent in that visible reference groups are moving up. These types should exhibit the greatest hostility and aggression, which, when possible will be directed at threatening groups, as well as at the larger system.

We have repeatedly had cause to point out the deviant nature of the cognitions and attitudes of the low IQ middle-class group. the girls appear to have found a possibly successful way of handling the problem to avoid downward congruence. The boys, however, are another matter. Their low level of expectations, relatively low level of strong support within the family, low status within the school, low feeling of potency, and high proportion who could not say what they might be doing ten years after high school reveal them to be a troubled group of boys, boys who have learned some things not to expect, but not what they might expect.

The above ordering of possible responses was for the purpose of outlining the range of likely responses given certain possibilities or barriers. It should not be assumed that any one response style must totally characterize any incongruent profile. Various factors beyond our present concern will lead to different definitions of the possibilities or barriers and to the painfulness of any particular incongruent profile. For example, the same bright working-class youth would tend to experience his incongruence differently and to respond differently in a largely middle-class school compared with one serving largely working-class youth. Also, non-mobile working-class youth will react differently in a school with a large number of Negro youth than in an all-white school.

We will now turn to a brief summary for each of our six groups of boys and girls. We have touched upon much already of relevance to these groups and will now cover sufficient of the findings characterizing the group to provide a sketch of these boys and girls.

Higher Congruent Status

This group, especially the boys, stood out considerably from the others. There were many indications of the favorableness of their situation and their reactions to it. They are a group who started out with advantages and obtained even more; it's a case of the rich getting richer, especially the boys.

These boys and girls are very pleased with their father's job and proud of their father. In these respects the boys were much more positive than the boys in general. These boys and girls perceive the greatest parental support for their attending college, and again, this was especially true of the boys and was more of these boys than the other boys by a wide margin.

These boys and girls are quite positive about the future and, it seems, have cause for that optimism. These teenagers, especially the boys, are highly regarded by their teachers. While the girls are not seen as especially influential and many are seen as unpopular, unattractive, and unfriendly, in comparison with the other two groups of bright girls, the boys stand out sharply from the other groups of boys. More are seen as characterized by the positive attributes and few as representing the negative attributes. It can be inferred from their attributed influence, extroversion, competence, poise, popularity, and attractiveness, as well from their Fate Control scores, that they have a feeling of high self-esteem, of high self-potency.

These boys and girls seem to regard achievement and competence more highly than the others. It seems that those who are competent and who have achieved are the more likely to appreciate what they represent and evaluate them accordingly.

Finally, we noted several indications that where we had large sex differences within the different groups, the difference tended to be less or non-existant for this group. It has been suggested that there are sharp boundaries between what are considered appropriate sex-role tasks and concerns in the middle-class than is true of the lower classes. This finding would seem to support the notion that there was more overlap in the experiences and background of these boys and girls.

Low Congruent Status

We will take up next the Low Congruent Status group for contrast with the High Congruent Status boys and girls. There seemed to be two themes running through the findings for this group, one of acceptance of their low position and the second, a recognition of their low status.

There was a great contrast between these boys and girls. The boys, surprisingly, tended to be positive about their father and his job. For example, almost half these boys rated income level of their father's job as high compared with about a third of the other working-class boys. Their proportion was comparable to the low IQ middle-class boys. This certainly can not be a reflection of the actual income level of the jobs but seems rather to reflect the standards of comparison of these boys. We interpreted such responses to indicate that these boys, because of their congruent statuses and their experiences within the educational setting (which were certainly congruent also with their congruent status) have learned to see the world of their father's as their world and to accept it.

The girls, in contrast to the boys, seem relatively unaccepting of the father and his job. Since we observed opposite trends for the bright Negro boys and girls, we interpreted the findings for the Low Congruent Status girls to represent their having internalized the attitudes and cognitions of the subculture with respect to the relatively powerless position of the male in the family. While the girls were not particularly negative, compared with the boys, they also were not especially positive, compared with the girls who tended to generally be more generous.

It seems that the boys, having accepted their low status position and not having had disparate experiences such as the incongruent youth have had, are relatively untroubled in ways which would create problems for them within the school. They are seen in a surprisingly positive light by their teachers. They are second only to the High Congruent Status boys in terms of the proportions seen as influential, poised, and outgoing. We interpreted this apparent picture of self-confidence to reflect their congruent status position. This pattern was not reflected in the ratings made of the girls. They were infrequently selected as representing the positive attributes. However, they were infrequently selected in general, they seem more unnoticed by the teachers than lowly regarded.

These girls and boys contrast again in their evaluations of the teacher. The boys appear relatively positive, apparently reflecting the relatively high regard the teachers have for them. The girls, on the other hand, are very negative; they see the teachers as lacking many of the positive attributes rated.

Even though these boys seem accepting of the school and confident about themselves, they and the girls had low Fate Control scores. They have attained some kind of adjustment, but are not optimistic and changing much. Although all groups tended to view the past as negative, these boys rated it especially negative. The present is also negative and the future is seen as neither positive nor negative. So, while these boys seem positive about some things, positive in terms of their frame of reference, it does not include interpreting their experiences of the past in a positive light.

Low IQ Middle-Class

These boys and girls represent quite a contrast to each other and to the other middle-class group, the High Congruent Status boys and girls. These girls appear to regard the father and his job more highly than do the boys. The greatest sex difference obtained in the rating of the concept father was between these boys and girls. These girls were more positive than any other group of girls. They also rated father as more masculine than any others. It was the only case among either the boys or the girls groups that the father was rated more positively than the mother. In every other case the mother was rated more positively by from a third to almost one standard deviation. The boys had the lowest mother rating among the boys. The father rating was neither positive nor negative. These data were not presented in the report because there were few differences other than those just reported for the low IQ middle-class boys and girls. The girls, like the High Congruent Status girls, rate their father's job as positive and vigorous; the boys see it as less positive and less vigorous.

Many of these boys were in the college prep programs, but few really expect college. This low expectation appears shared by the parents. The girls have lowered their educational aspirations at a young age, before high school. They typically take the commercial program, and expect to have a clerical job or get married. The parents of the girls do not seem to expect much, educationally, of their daughters either. Of all the groups of boys, the low IQ middle-class boys had the greatest disparity between the percentages desiring and expecting a high level occupation. They also had the highest proportion not knowing what to expect ten years after high school.

To be middle-class and have a low IQ must be a most difficult position. At least, it seems so from our findings. The girls can maintain their position via marriage and these girls appear very likely to do so considering their success at being attractive. But the boys are under great pressure. Simply maintaining their position will not be easy. Just attempting to stay at the position of their father's is more problematical than is true for any other group, male or female. At least it seems so from what seems to be their feelings and cognitions about themselves and how they are regarded in the school. Many are in the college prep programs, but they don't appear to expect much.

These girls were rated surprisingly negative by their teachers. That is, in all categories except "Attractiveness," where they were rated surprisingly high, much higher than any other group. This negative evaluation is reciprocated; these girls have a quite negative attitude toward school and the teachers. The boys rate the school quite negative also and both the boys and girls rate school as weaker than do the other groups. But they also see it as tougher. The boys were seen by the teachers as lacking influence, poise, or attractiveness. Few were seen as outgoing. Many were seen as powerless, unpopular, and introverted. The girls, likewise, were seen as introverted.

These boys and girls perceive themselves to have little control over their fate. In general, the girls tended to perceive lower control than the boys but in the case of the low IQ middle-class group, more of the boys had low Fate Control Scores.

The girls typically preferred most popular as their reputation among their peers but as we've learned, the teachers tended to see them as lacking popularity. More of the boys picked best athlete than any other group, a choice that would appear to be a fantasy choice for a path to quick fame.

In many respects these girls appeared to aspire toward a kind of femininity. They had low educational aspiration, desired the reputation most popular, were undistinguished, apparently, in either skills or personality, expect a "female" type position in an office, and seemed to successfully make themselves attractive.

The boys, too, present a somewhat feminine picture. They were often deviated from the other groups of boys toward the responses and attitudes of the girls. For example, they tended to see competence criteria in terms of judgment of others, a more typically female response and they rated play as somewhat feminine, rather than masculine as did the rest of the boys. The boys also appeared more childlike in several respects. More of them claimed to never dislike play, and they rated play more positively than did the others. They rated work the most negatively and as more difficult. They likewise rated occupation negative and difficult compared with the others. While the girls appear to have worked out a solution so far as the present and future are concerned that seems to be satisfactory, the boys present a picture of confusion and unreadiness for what is to come.

Bright Negro Working Class

These boys and girls were quite different in their assessment of their father and his job. The girls appeared more accepting and supportive while the boys were more critical and rejecting. We interpreted this as evidence that the boys rejected their fathers as adequate role models for them, a not unreasonable attitude considering the apparent mobility potential of this groups of boys. We interpreted the findings for the girls, because of the contrast to the attitudes of the low IQ Negro girls, to reflect their different conception of the male role from that typical for the working-class Negro subculture. While the father's economic role would represent a salient aspect of the father's rôle for the boys, it seems to be less relevant in the minds of the daughters.

These boys and girls appear mobile because of the proportions in college prep programs, the proportions definitely expecting to complete high school, the proportions expecting and desiring college, and the apparently strong parental support they perceive. All these mobility indications are much more definite with respect to the male than the female. While the mother was generally seen as somewhat more supportive than the father, it is not surprising, considering these boys' attitude about the father, to find that they perceive greater differential support in the direction of the mother being viewed as more supportive than do the other groups of boys.

These boys and girls seemed quite positive about school and the teachers, about as positive as the High Congruent Status boys and girls. However, more of the boys also had negative attitudes suggesting perhaps that some, in spite of their academic successes, were responding to some of the disparities of treatment they have experienced.

While these boys appeared relatively undistinguished (non-academically) according to the ratings of the teachers, the girls were, collectively, the most highly regarded among the groups of girls. There was a great sex difference in the proportions of these youth in the direction of more girls being seen as having influence, being popular, and cooperative. The boys, in contrast, were seen as especially introverted, and lacking in poise in contrast to the low IQ Negro boys.

More of these boys and girls selected best student as preferred reputation and the fewest chose most popular. The boys appear to feel they have high Fate Control. This perhaps reflects their already experienced status rise, and their anticipation of further increases in the future.

The girls represent more of a mixed picture with respect to their expectations for the future. They had the greatest variance, for instance, in their Fate Control scores, about a third with high scores but over hald with low scores and the fewest of any group with medium scores. It is likely that they perceive mobility to be more probablematic than do the males, a probably not unrealistic attitude. Two mobility options would seem open to the average female, further education or marriage to a middle-class male or an upward mobile male. It is likely that many do not see the latter as such a viable option as does the low IQ middle-class girls. Males seldom select a mate on the basis of how bright she might be.

Bright White Working-Class

We will have little to say about this group. In most respects they were similar to the bright Negro boys and girls with respect to most findings except that they tended to place somewhat behind them.

These boys tended to be somewhat more critical than were the bright Negro boys in assessing their father's job and we would interpret the findings similarly. There was little overall difference between the boys and girls in that neither was positive.

The boys were undistinguished according to the teacher's ratings while the girls were regarded highly along with the other two bright groups of girls.

There was a general difference between the white and Negro bright boys and girls, especially with respect to the boys. The Negroes seemed to stand out more, there seemed to be a more positive picture, they seemed a more homogenous group. They seemed to get more attention in the home, and likely also in the school and community. There were generally greater differences in the findings in comparison with the low IQ comparison group, the Low Congruent Status group for the Negroes and the low IQ white working-class group for the white boys. The Negroes, in this respect, appeared more a group apart, a select group. They seemed more tied to the school, had higher acheivement levels relative to IQ level and rated the school more positively.

Low IQ White Working-Class

In certain respects, this group seems to be most characterized by alienation from the school. They had the fewest in college prep programs, the fewest desiring or expecting college, and low perceived parental support for more education. These boys and girls, especially the boys, were the most lowly regarded by the teachers and they in turn rated the school and teachers negatively. More of the boys were seen as disciplinary problems than any other group of boys and more were rated as potentially in trouble with the police.

These boys and girls had low Fate Control scores and low levels of aspiration. We frequently observed large sex differences in the responses of these boys and girls. For instance, the boys tended to rate achievement, competence, work and occupation as vigorous or more vigorous than the other boys while the ratings for the girls tended to be the most easy-going. We interpret this finding to reflect the sharp boundaries between what, in the subculture, is defined as appropriate masculine and feminine activities.

The Study

The data reported in this analysis are from a study of the work orientations of teenagers based on responses from some 1200 teenagers from 13 public schools in the Detroit and New York City areas. The schools were selected on the basis of social characteristics of the community in order to insure that the major religious groups, occupational levels, social classes and races would be adequately represented. Within each school representative, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grade classes were requested, ones which did not differ in any essential respects from the school population as a whole. These youth were asked to fill out various questionnaires which included open-ended items, rating scales, choice items, etc. The paper and pencil data were supplemented by information from the school records such as IQ and achievement and by teacher ratings of selected attributes.

Status Variable Measurement

Social Class. The respondents' classification as middle or working class is based on the anture of his father's occupation. The middle class is comprised of all those with white-collar jobs from the professional, technical, managerial, some of the upper level service occupations, and some high level foremen and craftsmen. The working class includes the rest of the service workers, craftsmen, and very low level white-collar jobs as well as the operative and labor occupations.

Race. Race classification was based on the observations of the researchers.

IQ. IQ classification is based on the IQ's recorded by the schools. The respondent was simply coded above or below average.

The Data. The data included responses to open-ended questions asking for definitions of work and play, when play and work are liked and disliked, and for ideas about the nature of competence and success. In addition, there is such background information as religion, program selected in school, father's and mother's education, etc. Such attitudinal information as an index of Fate Control, an index reflecting attitude toward teachers, perceived present and future social class, preferred reputation, ratings of occupations, and more were included. Included also are ratings by teachers of the students on several attributes.

To get a comparative multivariate analysis of the factors associated with different patterns of status congruence and incongruence, the population of teenagers was divided into subpopulations of:

High Congruent Status: boys and girls who were middle class or upper class, high IQ, and white.

Low Congruent Status: working class, low IQ, Negro.

High Incongruent Status: a) middle class, white, low IQ.
b) white, high IQ, working class.

Low Incongruent Status: a) working class, Negro, high IQ.
b) working class, low IQ, white.

Recommendations

It seems clear from the findings of this study that some significant modifications are needed in school programs, school-parent communication, teacher-student relations, and the organizing of community resources for out-of-school experiences of teenagers.

This process of change needs to start with a "facing of the facts" of the types of information collected in this report, and other related knowledge from other studies. Until school personnel can be confronted with such facts, and have help and thinking thoughtfully from them, there will be little readiness to tackle the crucial job of educational reform in this area of occupational orientation.

This revision of the educational experiences of the teenagers must focus on the (1) students themselves; (2) their teachers and counselors; (3) their parents; (4) the school administrators; (5) the community leadership. Let's look at some priorities in each of those areas that can be derived from this study.

Needed Improvements in the Student's Learning Experiences

One major imperative is that the school must adapt and differentiate its program of experiences for boys as compared to girls. Girls feel better about their teachers, their educational experiences, and their future. Boys are under great pressures which push them toward unrealistic aspirations and self-expectations or toward alienation and withdrawal from the educational program and teachers. Some of the following types of things need to happen to the boys:

1. They need more flexible programs that do not make it a "fateful" experience to get into a curriculum sequence that tells them they won't be going to college, or that they are expected to go to college.

2. They need to feel supported and rewarded rather than compared and failed.

3. Other types of abilities need to be valued in addition to the cognitive intellectual resources measured by IQ assessments.

4. The student peer culture must be helped to develop norms of cooperation, helping, and acceptance rather than competition, comparison, and rejection.

5. Students need to be directly taught the skills of the occupational role of student or learner. The curriculum must include training in learning to learn so that the teenager can develop awareness and pride in identity as a competent learner. But other learnings must be valued than purely cognitive academic content sophistication.

6. If work is to become fun, successful, and meaningful, then task commitments must have a good balance of success and challenge and must be connected to a time perspective of the future.

7. Students must be helped to communicate actively and reflectively with adults--teachers, parents, and others about the important questions of occupation, self-evaluation, personal time perspectives into the future. Most teenagers are living with a low level of awareness and much unreality in their conceptions and perceptions of these crucial aspects of development. And adults collude in keeping meaningful dialog off the agenda of the educational program.

There is no intention of neglecting the girls in this analysis. Clearly girls need help in developing their sex role; help in integrating the pressures toward images of occupational expectation and pushes toward images of wife, mother, and productive citizen. The course program choices in the curriculum do little to help them clarify these dilemmas and develop their identity as woman.

Perhaps even more than the boys, the girls are permitted to develop defenses against self-awareness and rationalizations of their choices and attitudes in regards to work, the future, and the meaning of self-adequacy.

The self as an object for understanding is clearly not on the agenda of educational experience and must be if realistic problem-solving and motivated learning are to replace low level awareness, unrealistic expectations, and alienation from education.

Clearly there needs to be special sensitivity in designing the opportunities for the low status young people of both races who have a much lower sense of self-worth, and much more sense of futility about being able to take initiative to shape their own futures. The data give many clues about some of the specific areas of help which are needed.

Some of the recent curriculum innovations in the area of group development and human relations training seem very relevant in meeting the challenge of developing a peer culture that is supportive and acceptive of individual differences in ability, class, and race.

The Teachers and Counselors

These "direct workers" with the teenagers in the educational setting are the crucial links in the changing of the educational experiences in the directions suggested above.

But we must recognize that all these well intentioned adults are involved in cycles of evaluative attitudes and expectations which currently maintain the state of affairs described in our data. The breakthrough must start with a meaningful confrontation of these assumptions, attitudes, and behaviors. They must become involved in looking at the facts, and looking at themselves and their influence.

The confrontation laboratory and the sensitivity-group seem to be two of the most effective instruments for initiating this type of change.

The confrontation laboratory starts by confronting the participants with critical facts or episodes to deal with, and motivates the participates to search, with the help of consultants and resource materials, and peers, for the new ideas and skills needed to cope more adequately with the confrontation.

The sensitivity training program immerses the participant in group situations where their own behavior and its consequences is the focus of inquiry, and where experimentation with revised values, attitudes, and behaviors is legitimized and supported by the training group. Much inservice training is now including sensitivity training as a key component.

Individualization of instruction would seem to be required to provide the flexibility and adaptability of learning opportunities required. This individualization can be achieved by team teaching, use of older students as helpers, and the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers as educational aides.

The Parents

The school has a basic responsibility for parent education to foster the basic educational needs revealed in the data of this study. In very few homes is there open discussion about the future, or realistic understanding and support of the student's current learning efforts and responsibilities. The data reveal important influences from the student's perceptions of parental expectations and aspirations for them. Parents need help in improving the quality and direction of their communication with their teenagers. This help needs to come from the school. Collaboration must be developed between the teachers and parents if effective help is to be offered to the young ones.

The School Administrators

The administrators are the gatekeepers of change, and must to a high degree also be the initiators. The principal of the school can and usually must be the leader of the types of innovations in curriculum, procedures and curriculum implied above.

Our recommendation is that administrators participate in institutes where the data of this and other studies serve as the "feedback" basis of intensive work on ways of supporting the needed changes.

The Community Leadership

Teenagers cannot develop very meaningful and realistic orientations to occupational roles and the meaning of various types of work unless they can have effective exposure to such roles in the reality world of the community outside the classroom and school building. To provide such experience and observation opportunity, requires collaboration between school leaders and community leaders who can help make the community into an "educational community." So many of the data in this study reveal states of ignorance and reality that can only be corrected by opportunity to explore realistically various glimpses of potential futures. Motivation and commitment to continue in school and to put energy into learning would be stimulated by such "extension learning" opportunities in the community.

The problems of education so vividly revealed in our data must become a concern of the total community of school leaders, teachers, parents, and community leaders and workers. We cannot afford the loss of human resources, present and future, revealed by our findings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberle, D.F. & Kaspar, D.N. "Middle-class father's occupational role and attitudes toward children." Am. J. Orthopsychiatry, 1952, 22, 366-375.

Adams, S. "Status Congruency as a Variable in Small Group Performance," Social Forces, 1953, 32, 16-22.

Bakke, E. Wright Citizens Without Work, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

Benoit-Smullyan, E. "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," ASR, 1944, 9, 151-161.

Bell, D. Work and Its Discontents, Beacon Press: Boston, 1956.

Bernstein, B. "Some Sociological Determinants of Perception. An Inquiry into Sub-cultural Differences," Brit. J. Sociol., 1958, 9, 159-174.

Bernstein, B. "A Public Language and Some Sociological Implications of a Linquistic Form," Brit. J. Sociol., 1959, 10, 311-326.

Chinoy, E. "The Traditions of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," AJS, 1952, 57, 453-459.

Chinoy, E. Automobile Workers and the American Dream, Random House: New York, 1955.

Clark, B. R. "Sociology of Education," Chapter 19 of Handbook of Modern Sociology, R.E.L. Faris (editor) Rand McNally & Co.: Chicago, Illinois 1964.

Cooley, C. H. Human Nature and the Social Order. New York: Scribner's (Revised edition), 1922.

Donvan, E. "Social Status and Success Striving," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psycho. 1956, 52, 219-223.

Dubin, R. "Industiral Worker's World," Soc. Problems, 1956, 3, 131-142.

Durkheim, E. The Division of Labor is Society, Macmillian: Toronto, 1933.

Dyer, W. G. "Work and the Family," Nosow, S. and Form, W. H. (editors), Man Work and Society, Basic Books: New York, 1962, pp. 544-548.

Fenchel, G. E., Monders, J. H. & Hartley, E.L. "Subjective Status and the Equilibration Hypothesis," JASP, 1951, 46, 476-479.

Friedmann, J. The Anatomy of Work, Glencoe: Free Press, 1961.

Frend, S. Civilization and its Discontents, translated by James Strachey. W. W. Morton & Co.: New York, 1961.

Friedenberg, E. Z. Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence. Random House: New York, 1963.

Galler, E. H. "Influence of Social Class on Children's Choices of Occupation," Elemen. Sch. J., 1951, 51, 439-445.

Ginzberg, E., et.al. Occupational Choice: An Approach to General Theory, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Goffman, I.W. "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," ASR, 1957, 22, 275-281.

Goodman, L.A. & Kruskal, W.H. "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications." J. Am. Stat. Assoc., 1954, 49, 732-764.

Goodman, L.A. & Kruskal, W.H. "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications." J. Am. Stat. Assoc., 1963, 58, 310-364.

Grunes, Willa F. "On Perception of Occupations." J. Pers. & Guid., 1956, 34, 276-279.

Grunes, Willa F. "Looking at Occupations," J. abnorm. soc. Psychol., 1957, 54, 86-92.

Homans, G. C. Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, Harcourt Brace World, Inc.: New York, 1961.

Hughes, E. C. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," AJS, 1944, 50, 353-359.

Hughes, E. C. Men and Their Work, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958.

Jackson, E. F. "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," ASR, 1962, 27, 469-480.

Jackson, E. F. & Burke, P. J. "Status and Symptoms of Stress: Additive and Interaction Effects." ASR, 1965, 30, 556-564.

Jahoda, G. "Job Attitudes and Job Choices Among Secondary Modern School Leavers, I." Occup. Psychol. 1952, 26, 125-140.

King, S. H. & Cobb, S. "Psychosocial Factors in the Epidemiology of Rheumatoid Arthritis." J. of Chronic Diseases, 1958, 7, 466-475.

Landecker, Werner S. "Class Crystallization and Its Urban Patterns," Social Research, 1960 Autumn, 27, 308-320.

Lenski, G. "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," ASR, 1954, 19, 405-413.

Lenski, G. "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," ASR, 1956, 21, 458-464.

Lenski, G. The Religious Factor, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961

Mead, G. H. Mind, Self and Society, Morris, C. W. (editor), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Miller, D. R. & Swanson, G. E. The Changing American Parent, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958.

Miller, D. R. "Personality and Social Interaction," In B. Kaplan (editor) Studying Personality Cross-Culturally, Elmsford: Row, Peterson, 1961.

Miller, D. R. "Identity, Situation and Social Interaction: the Impact of Social Structure on Motivation." In S. Koch (editor), Psychology: a Study of Science, Vol. 5, The Process Areas, the Person, and Some Applied Fields: Their Place in Psychology and in Science, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Morse, C. and Weiss, R. S. "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," ASR, 1955, 20, 191-198.

National Opinion Research Center. "Jobs and Occupations; a Popular Evaluation." In Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (editors). Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953.

Nosow, Sigmund. "Social Correlates of Occupational Membership," from Nosow, S. and Form, W. H. (editors), Man Work and Society, Basic Books: New York 1962.

O'Dowd, D. D. & Beardslee, D. C. College Student Images of a Selected Group of Professions and Occupations. Middletown: Wesleyan University, 1960.

Osgood, C. E., et.al. The Measurement of Meaning. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Pettigrew, T. F. A Profile of the Negro American. D. Van Nostrand Co. Princeton, New Jersey, 1964.

Reiss, A. J., Jr., et.al. Occupations and Social Status. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961.

Rosenburg, M. Occupations and Values. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.

Rundquist, E. A. & Sletto, R. F. Personality in the Depression, A Study in the Measurement of Attitudes, Minneapolis: University of Minnisota Press, 1936.

Zajonc, R. Cognitive Structure and Cognitive Tuning. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1955.

Zaleznik, A; Christensen, C.R., & Roethlisberger, F. J. with the collaboration of George C. Homans, The Motivation, Productivity and Satisfaction of Workers: A Prediction Study, Boston: Harvard University Press, 1958.

APPENDIX A

THE MAN FROM MARS

APPENDIX A

THE MAN FROM MARS

We are asking pupils in many different schools to tell us what they think about certain familiar words or things. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. What we want to know is what _you_ think about certain things.

We want you to pretend that you have just met a man from Mars, who looks like any other person and who has learned to speak some English. There are, however, many things he doesn't know, so your job will be to tell him what certain words and phrases mean. For example, he might not know what "_baseball_" is. What are some of the things about baseball that you could tell him that would help him to understand what it is?

****

On the following pages are other questions the Man from Mars will ask you about things he doesn't understand. _Put down those items that you think are important for him to know so he will understand what the word means_. For some of the words and phrases you will be asked about, you may want to tell him only one idea, so you will put down just this idea; for another word you may want to tell him two, three, or even more ideas, then you will write them all down. How many ideas you put down to help him understand the meaning of the word doesn't matter, just so long as you tell him what you think is important. Tell him whatever you feel is necessary, so he will know as well as you do what the word means. All of the things he will ask you about will be simple everyday things that we all have ideas about.

****

1. The Man from Mars overheard some students discussing the "leading crowd" in their school. One of them mentioned that a friend of his didn't have "what it takes" to become a member of this top social group. What he'd like for you to tell him is, what it takes to become a member of this group.

   a) Think of some of the boys who are members of this top group in your school and, keeping them in mind, describe what it "takes" for boys to become a member of this group.

   b) Now think of some of the girls who belong to this group and, keeping them in mind, describe what it "takes" for girls to become a member of this group.

2. One of the words the Man from Mars has heard people use often and which he doesn't understand the meaning of, is "work."

   a) Name, for him, three activities that you personally consider to be work.

      i)

      ii)

      iii)

   b) Now tell the Man from Mars what the word work means so he will completely understand it. Write below all of the things you would tell him so he could understand as well as you do, what work means.

3. The Man from Mars has heard people say that sometimes they like work and at other times they dislike work. He doesn't understand how one can both like and dislike work and he would like you to explain it to him.

   a) If you ever like work, tell why you like it.

   b) If you ever dislike work, tell why you dislike it.

4. Another word the Man from Mars has heard people use often and which he doesn't understand the meaning of, is "play."

   a) Name, for him, three activities that you personally consider to be play.

      i)

      ii)

      iii)

   b) Now tell the Man from Mars what the word play means so he will completely understand it. Write below all of the things you would tell him so he could understand as well as you do, what play means.

5. The Man from Mars has heard people say that sometimes they like play and at other times they dislike play. He doesn't understand how one can both like and dislike play and he would like you to explain it to him.

   a) If you ever dislike play, tell why you dislike it.

   b) If you ever like play, tell why you like it.

6. The Man from Mars has heard people say that they are good at some things or do them well; while at the same time they are not good at other things. There are a few things he doesn't understand.

   a) First, he'd like you to tell him how people know they are good at something or that they do it well.

   b) Next, the Man from Mars would like to know how a person becomes good at something.

7. The Man from Mars has observed that different parents have quite different ideas about what kind of person they wish their children to become. Each parent seemed to have a somewhat different notion about what kind of a person gets along best in this world.

   a) Tell him what kind of a person, if you were a parent, you would want your child to become. Name three things about this person.

      i)

      ii)

      iii)

   b) Now tell the Man from Mars why each of the above things about this person is important.

8. The Man from Mars has also observed that parents have different ideas about the sorts of things they want their children to learn to be good at as adults. What one parent considers important to be good at, another feels is unimportant.

   a) Name three things, as a parent, you would consider important for your child to be good at when an adult.

      i)

      ii)

      iii)

   b) Now tell the Man from Mars why it is important for an adult to be good at each of these three things.

9. The Man from Mars has heard people speak about different occupations and found that some of these occupations are liked whereas others seem to be disliked. He would like to know why some occupations are liked.

   a) Name three occupations that most people would like.

      i)

      ii)

      iii)

   b) What reasons would most people give for liking each of these three occupations?

10. The Man from Mars has heard it said that the choosing of one's life's work was about the most important decision made by young people. He has observed that people seem to have different ideas about what are the important things to consider when selecting an occupation.

    a) Tell him what you think are the three most important things to keep in mind when choosing you life's work.

       i)

       ii)

       iii)

    b) Tell the Man from Mars why each of these things is important to consider when deciding on your life's work.

11. The Man from Mars overheard some people talking about the things that made a job a "good job." They had different ideas about what was important in a job.

    a) What things would you tell him make a job a good job. Mention as many things as you think he should know so he could pick a good job himself.

    b) Now tell the Man from Mars why the one you underlined is the most important thing in a good job.

12. The same people who had been discussing what was important in a job also got the Man from Mars interested in the fact that some people were successful at their work while others were not.

    a) Tell the Man from Mars what kind of person is generally successful at his work.

    b) Now tell him what a person has to do to be successful at his work.

13. The Man from Mars would know more about what jobs and occupations were like if some were described to him in detail.

    a) Describe for him, as completely as you can, your father's job. In order to make it clear to the Man from Mars just what you father does for a living, give him examples of the sorts of things he does as part of his job.

    b) Name two things about your father's work that you particularly like and tell why you like them.

    c) Name two things about your father's work that you don't particularly like and tell why you dislike them.

    d) If your father had some occupation other than the one he does, what would you like it to be?

       Why?

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. YOUR SCHOOL____

2. YOUR SEX (Circle one) MALE FEMALE

3. YOUR GRADE (Circle one) 8 10 12

4. YOUR AGE (Circle one) 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

   OTHER (Specify)____________________

5. Were you born in the United States? (Circle one) YES NO

   5a. If YES, what city and state?

   ______________________ ______________________
   City State

   5b. If you were not born in one of the 50 states, indicate the city and country in which you were born.

   ______________________ ______________________
   City Country

6. What high school program are you either now taking or expecting to take? (Circle one)

   COLLEGE PREP (OR ACADEMIC) COMMERCIAL GENERAL

   VOCATIONAL OTHER (Specify)____________________

7. How many children are there, including yourself, in your family?

   (Circle one) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

   If more than 8, specify:____________

   NUMBER OF BROTHERS: OLDER_____ NUMBER OF SISTERS: OLDER_____

   YOUNGER_____ YOUNGER_____

   SAME AGE _____ SAME AGE_____

8. Does your family include both parents (or parent-substitutes)?

(Circle one) YES NO

8a. If NO, which parent or parent-substitute is not part of your family?

(Circle one or two FATHER MOTHER

9. Was you father born in the United States? (Circle one)

YES NO

9a. If YES, in what city and state?

______________________ ______________________

City State

9b. If he was not born in one of the 50 states, indicate the city and country in which he was born.

______________________ ______________________

City Country

9c. If he was not born in one of the 50 states, how old was he when he came to the United States?______________

10. Was your father born on a farm? (Circle one) YES NO

10a. If YES, about how old was he when he left the farm?

11. How old is your father?______________

12. How far did your father go in school? (Check one)

_____ Went to grade school

_____ Went to high school, but didn't graduate

_____ Graduated from high school

_____ Went to college, but didn't graduate

_____ Graduated from college

_____ Went to graduate school for a professional degree (for example, a Master's degree, a Doctor's degree, a Medical degree, and so on).

_____ No schooling

13. Does you mother have a paying job? (Circle one) YES NO

13a. If YES, is this a full-time or a part-time job? (Circle one)

FULL-TIME PART-TIME

14. What is the title of your mother's job?________________________________

14a. Describe her job.

15. How far did your mother go in school? (Check one)

_____ Went to grade school

_____ Went to high school, but didn't graduate

_____ Graduated from high school

_____ Went to college, but didn't graduate

_____ Graduated from college

_____ Went to graduate school for a professional degree (for example, a Master's degree, a Doctor's degree, a Medical degree, and so on).

_____ No schooling

16. How old is your mother?______________

17. If you could be anything at all, what would you most like to do for a living?

18. What do you expect you most probably will be doing for a living 10 years after you leave high school?

19. How do you think most parents would feel if their son chose each of the following types of work? (Check the scale for each occupation)

	Not Happy	Wouldn't Mind	Happy	Very Happy	Delighted
a. Assembly line worker	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Bank manager	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. College professor	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Engineer	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Lab technician	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Library clerk	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Machinist	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Mayor of a small town	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Night watchman	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. Peddler	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. Policeman	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. Real-estate agent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. Sales clerk	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. Shop foreman	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
o. United States Senator	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

20. Do you EXPECT to graduate from high school? (Check one)

_____ Definitely YES

_____ Probably YES

_____ Probably NOT

_____ Definitely NOT

21. Do you WANT to attend college? (Circle one)

YES NO NOT SURE

22. Do you EXPECT to attend college? (Check one)

_____ Definitely YES

_____ Probably YES

_____ Probably NOT

_____ Definitely NOT

23. What is your father's attitude about your going to college? (Check one)

_____He definitely wants and expects me to go to college.

_____He wants me to go, but he's leaving it up to me.

_____He doesn't care either way, it's whatever I want to do.

_____He doesn't want me to, but he's leaving it up to me.

_____He doesn't want me to go and expects me not to go.

24. What is your mother's attitude about your going to college?

_____She definitely wants and expects me to go to college.

_____She wants me to go, but she's leaving it up to me.

_____She doesn't care either way, it's whatever I want to do.

_____She doesn't want me to, but she's leaving it up to me.

_____She doesn't want me to go and expects me not to go.

25. Have you usually felt confident your life would work out about the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been very sure about it? (Circle one)

CONFIDENT SOMETIMES NOT VERY SURE

26. Do you feel that you are the kind of person who gets his share of bad luck or do you feel that you have mostly good luck? (Circle one)

SHARE OF BAD LUCK MOSTLY GOOD LUCK

27. When you plan ahead, do your plans usually work out the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans? (Circle one)

THINGS WORK OUT HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS

28. Some people feel that they are pushed around by other people. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. Do you feel you get pushed around or do you feel you run your own life? (Circle one)

GET PUSHED AROUND   RUN OWN LIFE

29. Many people believe that you can group people into what are called "social classes," such as the "upper-class," the "middle-class," the "working-class" and the "lower-class." What would you say makes the people in these groups different from each other?

30. Which of the following is the social class you think you will be a member of in the future? (Circle one)

MIDDLE   LOWER   WORKING   UPPER

31. Which of the following is the social class you now belong to? (Circle one)

MIDDLE   LOWER   WORKING   UPPER

32. Do you have a part-time paying job? (Circle one)

YES   NO

32a. If YES, about how much do you earn each week?____________________

33. Do you get an allowance?

33a. If YES, about how much do you receive each week?____________________

34. If you could be remembered at school for only one of the four things listed below, which one would you want it to be? (Check one)

_____ Best student

_____ Leader in student government

_____ Most popular, well-liked student

_____ Best athlete

35. Examine each of the items below and decide which of the alternatives in each pair best fits *most* of the teachers in your school. (Circle one of *each* pair)

Friendly - Unfriendly

Too strict - Easy

Fair - Unfair

Interested in students - Not interested in students

Don't understand students - Understand students

APPENDIX C

THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

APPENDIX C

The Semantic Differential

Name________________________

INSTRUCTIONS: The purpose of this series of rating scales is to find out the meanings of certain things to various people by having them make judgments on these scales. In using these scales make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean to *you*. At the top of each page you will find a different word or concept which is to be judged on each of the scales below it.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is *very closely related* to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

fair_X__:____:____:____:____:____:____unfair
or
fair____:____:____:____:____:____:_X__unfair

If you feel that the concept is *quite closely related* to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely) you should place your check-mark as follows:

strong____:_X__:____:____:____:____:____weak
or
strong____:____:____:____:____:_X__:____weak

If the concept seems *only slightly related* to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral) then you should check as follows:

active____:____:_X__:____:____:____:____passive
or
active____:____:____:____:_X__:____:____passive

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the concept that you are judging.

If you consider the concept to be *neutral* on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept, or if the scale doesn't apply, then you should place your check-mark in the middle space:

safe____:____:____:_X__:____:____:____unsafe

IMPORTANT:

(1) Place your check-marks *in the middle of the spaces*, not on the boundaries: THIS NOT THIS
____:_X__:____:____X____:____:____

(2) Check every scale for every concept -- *do not omit any*.

(3) Never put more than one check mark on a single scale.

Do not look back and forth through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked other items earlier in the test. *Make each item a separate and independent JUDGMENT*. Work at a fairly high speed. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate "feelings" about the items that are important.

CONCEPTS

Work

Play

Occupation

Competence (To be good at things)

Influence (To have power over others)

Achievement (To accomplish, to succeed)

To be liked

School

The future

The Past

The Present (now)

School teacher

Father

Mother

My Fathers Job

Scales[a]

fun :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not fun

strong :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: weak

passive (not active) :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: active

bad :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: good

difficult :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: easy

unpleasant :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: pleasant

feminine (womanlike) :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: masculine (manlike)

fast :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: slow

frightening :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: not frightening

no variety :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: variety (lots of change)

easy going :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: tough going

important :____:____:____:____:____:____:____: unimportant

---

[a] The order and direction of the scales were varied from concept to concept.

APPENDIX D

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS SUMMARY

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS SUMMARY

Agreement percentages offer an unclear picture of reliability of coding. Neither do the significance levels of the percentages make them interpretable in any important sense. It's possible to have statistically significant agreement, especially with large N's, which represent little real predictive association. Neither significance levels nor percentages tell one anything about strength of association. It may be worthwhile to review in more detail the shortcomings of percentages as indices of reliability.

Sixty percent agreement in the case of a two-category code (e.g., yes, no) must be interpreted differently from the same agreement percentage based on a ten-category code. If it is assumed, in both cases, that all categories are equally likely and are randomly and equally selected, then chance agreement for the first case is 50% and in the latter case only 10%. (Note also that the chance "accuracy" rates would be 25% and 01% respectively.) Likewise, given two sets of codes with an equal number of alternative categories, but which differ in the frequency of occurrance of the categories, a similar interpretation problem exists. That is, if there are ten categories, and in the one case these categories are equally likely while in the second case all are equally likely with the exception of one which occurs 55% of the time, then chance agreement would be 10% and 32 1/2% respectively. Note that it is assumed that the "Judges" are guessing and that their distribution of guesses coincides with the frequencies with which instances of the categories occur. Should a best guess strategy (highest marginal) be followed for the second case by both judges, 55% agreement would be expected. There is no strategy which would increase agreement above random guessing in the first case. (It is true, however, that following the strategy of always guessing the same as the first judge, resulting in non-independence if judging, would raise the chance accuracy rate from 01% to 10%.)

In summary, an agreement percentage should ideally be corrected for number of categories and their probability of occurrance. In other words, to make reliability data interpretable, as well as comparable from code to code, one should use some measure of cross classification which takes into account these two factors.

The Lambda Index of Predictive Association

The Lambda Index of Predictive Association (Goodman & Kruskal, 1954, 1963) best meets such requirements. It is suitable for the case, such as ours that involves nominal or unordered categories. There is a symmetric and asymmetric form; the former is the appropriate one in our case inasmuch as neither coder can be viewed as "antecedent" to the other in any meaningful sense. There is a special version of the symmetric form which is designed for the case of a common set of classes with the assignment to classes by different methods or by different judges. The formula for this, the reliability version of the Lambda Index, is as follows:

$$L_r = \frac{\Sigma R_{aa} - 1/2\ (R_{m\cdot} + R_{\cdot m})}{1 - 1/2\ (R_{m\cdot} + R_{\cdot m})}$$

Where R_{aa} represents the percentage of cases falling on the diagonal, i.e., coder-coder agreement;

and $R_{m\cdot}$ represents one maximum marginal percentage;

and $R_{\cdot m}$ represents the other maximum marginal percentage.

The Reliability Data

There are two additional possible sources of error which contribute to apparent disagreements; they are clerical error and the differential use of coding conventions which were established to handle certain reoccurring contingencies. There is reason to assume, based on the error rates of coding the quantative material, that clerical errors were infrequent. There is no way to determine, from the records, the frequency of apparent coding disagreement which might have been due to not applying or misapplying one of the coding conventions. Therefore, both types of error, to the extent they were present, were treated as coding or editing disagreements.

The free response items used in the study were of two general types, what we are calling the unlimited and the limited response items. The first type of item set no limits on how many codeable points a respondent might make. All discriminable meaning units, in terms of the codes, were recorded through the use of a geometric coding system. The second type, the limited response item, required the respondent to list three "things". All codeable units up to the maximum of three were recorded in the order presented.

The unlimited response items. Table D-1 summarizes the percentage agreement and the Lambda Indices for the seventeen unlimited response items. The first column (Total) contains overall agreement rates; the second column (Code) contains the recomputed agreement rates with the instances of editing disagreements omitted. The final two columns are the Lambda Indices based on the two conditions, with and without editing disagreements. Overall, of the total disagreements, about 60% appeared to be what we are calling the editing disagreements; the remaining 40% are largely the coding disagreements. We can provide no separate data concerning overall editing reliability because instances of concurrance that a response unit was not codeable were not recorded. Therefore, the Total statistics cannot be interpreted as coding plus editing reliability but as coding reliability plus other sources of unreliability and error. There is no way from the records to determine or estimate the extent of coder-coder agreement that a response unit was not codeable.

One point of interest which was examined was whether the coding agreement rates varied over the coding period, that is, whether in the beginning, when the coders were not yet thoroughly familiar with the coding categories, the agreement rate was particularly lower. Consequently, the first 20 to 25 percent of the check coding was summarized separately to compare with the overall rates reported in Table D-1. The two median percentage agreement rates for the early coding were 78 and 89 for the Total and Code agreements respectively. This is very little below the median rates of Table D-1 which are 80 and 91. This would seem to indicate that the period devoted to coder training was largely sufficient and that the higher rate of check-coding at the onset of production coding has not significantly lowered the reliability values being reported.

TABLE D-1

Reliabilities for Unlimited Response Items

ITEM	PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT		LAMBDA INDEX OF ASSOCIATION	
	Total	Code	Total	Code
Social Class definition	78	93	.69	.90
Leading Crowd criteria	84	96	.75	.94
Work definition	78	91	.68	.86
Like work conditions	84	94	.79	.92
Play definition	81	89	.75	.86
Dislike play conditions	78	87	.73	.83
Like play conditions	84	94	.72	.86
Competence definition	80	86	.71	.79
Competence--How acquired	82	94	.66	.86
Good job criteria	85	96	.77	.93
Success--Traits	82	92	.75	.88
Success--Behavior	78	87	.68	.81
Father's job--description	61	85	.48	.78
Father's job--features liked	75	88	.70	.85
Father's job--features disliked	72	84	.55	.71
New job reason	69	85	.63	.82
Median values	80	91	.70	.86

The Limited Response Items. Since the reliability of the coding of these responses differed depending upon whether they were the first, second, or third point listed, the reliability data are presented separately for each as well as for all responses combined.

There are two aspects of the data summarized in Table D-2 which have methodoligical implications. Note first the decreasing agreement rate moving from the first point to the third. This decrease is reflected in both the Total rates (a drop of approximately 12 percentage points for Things and 10 for Reasons) and in the Code rates (an average drop of about 10 and 7 percentage points respectively.)

Respondents were asked to name three of something. Apparently, many did not readily have three easy responses to the items and as they went from the first to the third were experiencing more and more difficulty. It would appear that the more difficulty the respondent experienced listing a Thing, the more difficult it was to code. Why it should have been more difficult to code cannot be determined short of a comparative analysis of the three sets of responses.

The second finding of methodological relevance is that the reliability of the coding of Reasons, even for the first point, is less than the reliability of the third, or the lowest, of the Things. It might be argued that this lower reliability reflects simply the greater abstractness of the Reasons compared with the Things. It might be argued that this lower reliability reflects simply the greater abstractness of the Reasons compared with the Things. If, however, the median for the Total and the Code agreement rates (66 and 80 percent respectively) are compared with the two median values for the items from Table D-1 (80 and 91 percent respectively), it would seem that such an explanation cannot account for the lower reliability. Compare also the median Lambda Indices--.54 and .70 respectively for the Total and Code conditions versus .70 and .86 for the Table D-1 data. The point is, asking for a definition of work, or of play, or of competence, presents just as abstract a problem as giving a reason why honesty should be regarded as an important attribute to possess.

It seems more likely that the respondents, in offering the three instances of something often acted as though they were more-or-less self-explanatory. To then ask them why, for instance, they regard honesty to be an important attribute is to force them to intellectualize, to give the best or most plausible response they can think of. Their reasons were sometimes circular--honesty is important because it's important to be honest. But perhaps this could have been expected. The wording of the initial question states the general reason asked for in the follow-up question. That is, the major criterion which governs the response to the "things" part of the question is "goodness" (important, like, best). Such continua (according to Osgood's data) are heavily loaded on the affective or attitudinal dimensions rather than on the dimensions of meaning. For many then, perhaps the attitudinal factor accounted for most of the variance determining the "things" mentioned. Since the Respondent had expressed most of what he had to express, the follow-up question could elicit little additional information.

TABLE D-2

Reliabilities for Limited Response
Items - "Things" & "Reasons"

ITEM		THING FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	OVERALL AGREEMENT	LAMBDA INDEX OF ASSOCIATION
Attributes	Total:	87	77	77	81	.74
	Code:	90	85	85	87	.82
Skills	Total:	92	84	82	86	.78
	Code:	95	92	89	92	.85
Occupations	Total:	88	88	77	85	.80
	Code:	97	94	84	92	.89
Life's work	Total:	95	89	78	88	.79
	Code:	98	94	88	94	.89
Median value for Things	Total:	90	86	78	86	.78
	Code:	96	93	86	92	.87

ITEM		REASON FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	OVERALL AGREEMENT	LAMBDA INDEX OF ASSOCIATION
Attributes	Total:	65	63	49	59	.43
	Code:	76	74	68	72	.60
Skills	Total:	72	69	61	68	.58
	Code:	84	80	77	81	.75
Occupations	Total:	74	70	60	69	.52
	Code:	78	85	72	78	.66
Life's work	Total:	69	62	60	64	.56
	Code:	87	83	84	85	.78
Median value for Reasons	Total:	70	66	60	66	.54
	Code:	81	82	74	80	.70

It is again a moot point whether the subsequent lower reliability of the coding of the Reasons might be attributed to the respondent, the coder, or the codes. It is suggested that the respondent was faced with the problem of generating a response other than mostly attitudinal in nature when the affective dimension was accounting for most of the meaning for him. Just why his "rationalizations" should be relatively more difficult to code is not clear. It's likely that the coders (and the codes themselves) tended to attribute greater non-affective meanings to the resonses than they merited. Short of an analysis of the coding agreements and disagreements, a choice between these (or alternative accounts) is not possible.

Significance levels. Examining the significance levels of the Lambda Indices adds little to our reliability analysis.[1] Because of the size of the Lambda values and the size of the N's in the check coding summaries, all Lambda Indices were clearly highly significant. They ranged from 6 to 42 Standard Error Units from zero association. This means that even the poorest predictive association was significantly different from zero association so at far beyond the .0001 level that the actual significance level doesn't matter. The rank order of the items in terms of both Code and Total Lambda Index deviations from zero association in Standard Error units is presented in Table D-3. It can reasonably be concluded then that the open-ended data have been adequately coded.

---

[1] The Standard Error formula for Lambda can be found in Goodman & Kruskal (1963).

TABLE D-3

Rank Order of Lambda Index Deviations from Zero Association in Standard Error Units

CODE LAMBDA		TOTAL LAMBDA
Leading Crowd Good Job Criteria Success Traits Things: Occupations Aspects of Father's work liked	30-42	
Social Class Things: Skills Things: Career Criteria Like Work Conditions Success - Behavior New Job Reason Things: Attributes Work Definition	20-29	Success -- Traits Good Job Criteria Things: Occupations Aspects of Father's work liked Things: Skills Leading Crowd
Dislike work conditions Like Play conditions Competency - how acquired Competency - Definition Aspects of Father's work disliked Reasons: skills Job Description content Reasons: Career criteria	15-19	Things: Career criteria Success - Behavior Things: Attributes Like Work Conditions New Job Reason Social Class
Dislike Play Conditions Reasons: Occupations	10-14	Dislike Work Conditions Competency - how acquired Work Definition Dislike Play Conditions Aspects of Father's work Disliked Like Play Conditions Competency - Definition Reasons: Skills Reasons: Career Criteria Reasons: Occupations
Play Definition Reasons: Attributes	6-9	Job Description Content Reasons: Attributes Play Definition

APPENDIX E

FACTOR ANALYSIS SUMMARY

APPENDIX E

FACTOR ANALYSIS SUMMARY

Fifteen concepts were each rated on twelve scales by 1210 teenagers.[a] The scale intercorrelations were factor analyzed and three factors, using Kaiser's criterion, were obtained. The factor loadings were as follows:

	Factors			
	I Evaluative	II Difficulty	III Vigor	h^2
Good-Bad	.74	-.11	.01	.60
Pleasant-Unpleasant	.67	-.31	-.04	.63
Important-Unimportant	.63	.24	-.01	.46
Fun-Not Fun	.60	-.40	-.04	.61
Active-Passive	.54	.01	.29	.41
Variety-No Variety	.52	-.01	-.01	.27
Tough Going-Easy Going	.03	.85	.03	.70
Difficult-Easy	.00	.83	.00	.70
Frightening-Not Frightening	-.15	.49	-.03	.30
Masculine-Feminine	-.19	.13	.73	.57
Strong-Weak	.30	.05	.66	.57
Fast-Slow	.08	-.34	.55	.43

The intercorrelation among the factors were as follows:

	I	II
II	-.21	--
III	.09	.02

Factor Scores were computed for each concept based on the relative contribution of each item to the factor. These scores were standardized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. The mean standard scores for each concept are listed below as they cluster in the 3-dimensional space defined by the factors.

---

[a] The N was reduced from 1254 to 1210 because of incomplete data on 44 respondents.

Evaluative	Difficulty	Vigor	
55	54	49	Achievement (To accomplish, succeed)
53	54	48	The Future
51	54	47	School
51	52	49	The Present
55	42	39	Mother
55	45	49	To Be Liked
51	38	50	Play
53	47	52	Competence (To be good at things)
51	47	60	Father
46	57	59	Father's Job
46	54	53	Work
43	52	51	Influence (To have power over others)
45	53	47	School Teacher
49	51	49	Occupation
46	49	48	The Past

APPENDIX F

FATE CONTROL INDEX

APPENDIX F

FATE CONTROL INDEX [*]

Four items, which appeared to cluster in previous research were used to assess the degree to which the respondents felt they had some control over their own fate. The respondents were 8th, 10th and 12th grade students from the Detroit area and New York area public schools and from three Michigan juvenile institutions. The participating schools represented a broad social class and ethnic range. The items were included in the Background Information section of the questionnaire to which each of the approximately 1200 teenagers responded. The four items appeared as follows:

A. Have you usually felt confident your life would work out about the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been very sure about it? (Circle one)

CONFIDENT SOMETIMES NOT VERY SURE

B. Do you feel that you are the kind of person who gets his share of bad luck or do you feel that you have mostly good luck? (Circle one)

SHARE OF BAD LUCK MOSTLY GOOD LUCK

C. When you plan ahead, do your plans usually work out the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans? (Circle one)

THINGS WORK OUT HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS

D. Some people feel that they are pushed around by other people. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. Do you feel you get pushed around or do you feel you run your own life? (Circle one)

GET PUSHED AROUND RUN OWN LIFE

---

[*] We are indebted to Angus Campbell, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan for these items.

The Relationship Between Items:

-- Contingency Coefficients --

	B	C	D
A. Confident -- Not sure	.16	.12	.11
B. Bad luck -- Good luck	--	.17	.14
C. Things work out -- Change plans	--	--	.14
D. Pushed around -- Run own life	--	--	--

-- Chi-Square Quantities --

	B	C	D
A	35	17	15
B	--	43	25
C	--	--	24

All P's less than .001

All correlations are small but highly significant. The items can be assumed to cluster and to form a scale. All positive endorsements were summed and an index score assigned to each respondent. These with missing data were dropped out. Index scores ranged from 0 to 4. The distribution of these scores appears to be approximately normal:

FATE CONTROL:

LOW				HIGH		
0	1	2	3	4	Total	N
8.5	25.9	32.1	22.9	10.6	100%	1008

The Relationship Between Items:

-- Contingency Coefficients --

	B	C	D
A. Confident -- Not sure	.16	.12	.11
B. Bad luck -- Good luck	--	.17	.14
C. Things work out -- Change plans	--	--	.14
D. Pushed around -- Run own life	--	--	--

-- Chi-Square Quantities --

	B	C	D
A	35	17	15
B	--	43	25
C	--	--	24

All P's less than .001

All correlations are small but highly significant. The items can be assumed to cluster and to form a scale. All positive endorsements were summed and an index score assigned to each respondent. These with missing data were dropped out. Index scores ranged from 0 to 4. The distribution of these scores appears to be approximately normal:

FATE CONTROL:

LOW				HIGH		
0	1	2	3	4	Total	N
8.5	25.9	32.1	22.9	10.6	100%	1008

Distribution of Fate Control Index-Scores
by Selected Variables

VARIABLE		FATE CONTROL		Total	N
	LOW		HIGH		
	0,1	2	3,4		
Total	34	32	34	100%	1008
Social Class -- I (High)	17	34	49	100	132
II	32	32	36	100	223
III	32	33	35	100	220
IV	42	28	30	100	235
V (Low)	46	33	21	100	76
IQ -- Very High	23	31	46	100	146
High	34	36	30	100	200
Average	40	29	31	100	254
Low	40	30	30	100	170
Very Low	44	33	23	100	105
Location -- Detroit Area	31	32	37	100	528
New York Area	34	35	31	100	394
Juvenile Institutions	54	22	24	100	86
Religion -- White Protestant	29	33	38	100	373
Non-white Protestant	37	35	28	100	77
White Catholic	39	34	27	100	217
Non-white Catholic	58	14	28	100	14
Jew	22	24	54	100	50
Protestant	31	33	36	100	450
Catholic	40	32	28	100	231
White	34	33	33	100	684
Non-white	37	33	30	100	251
Later Dropouts					
Female	53	32	15	100	40
Male	40	28	32	100	40
Total	34	32	34	100	1008

In summary, high perceived Fate Control is associated with high Social Class, high IQ, and the Protestant and, more strongly, the Jewish religions. In addition, there were sex and age differences (not reported here) with the males and older respondents perceiving greater

Fate Control. Also, low perceived Fate Control is associated with being Non-white, with dropping out of school, and, not surprisingly, with being incarcerated.

These differences in perceived Fate Control generally tend to be in the direction one would expect. These data can be interpreted as evidence concerning the validity of the scale.

APPENDIX G

STUDENT RATING FORM

APPENDIX G

Student Rating Form

SCHOOL____GRADE__________

For each of the following questions choose the students from the list provided who best fit the sketch. For each item, pick three boys and three girls and write their roster numbers in the appropriate spaces. In a few instances, you may feel there are not three who really fit the description. In such cases, you may list two, one or even none, if appropriate.

1. Which students have the greatest power and influence - that is, who can most often get other pupils to do what they want them to do?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

2. Which students have the least power and influence - that is, who can least often get other pupils to do what they want them to do?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

3. Which students are the most competent - that is, who is the most expert at the most things?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

4. Which students are the least competent - that is, who is generally the least expert at most things?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

5. Which students are the most cooperative - that is, who most often and most willingly does what the teacher wishes the class to do?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

6. Which students are the least cooperative - that is, who is most resistive to doing what the teacher wishes the class to do?

   MALES: _____ _____ _____

   FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

7. Which students are the most popular - that is, who is best-liked by most other pupils?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

8. Which students are the least popular - that is, who is least well-liked or most disliked by most other pupils?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

9. Which students are physically the most attractive - that is, all things considered, who presents the most favorable appearance?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

10. Which students are physically the least attractive - that is, who presents the least favorable or the most unattractive appearance?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

11. Which students are the friendliest - that is, who is most friendly with most other pupils?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

12. Which students are the least friendly - that is, who is the least friendly or the most unfriendly with most other pupils?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

13. Which students are the disciplinary problems - that is, who causes the most trouble and is least easily managed?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

14. Which students are the most helpful - that is, who most consistently and most often helps other pupils?

MALE: ____ ____ ____

FEMALE: ____ ____ ____

15. Which students have the most poise - that is, who exhibits the greatest social skill in interaction with others?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

16. Which students have the least poise - that is, who exhibits the least or the greatest absence of social skill in their interaction with others?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

17. Which students are overachievers - that is, who is performing the farthest above his or her potential?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

18. Which students are the underachievers - that is, who is performing the farthest below his or her potential?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

19. Which students are the most extroverted - that is, who is the most outgoing?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

20. Which students are the most introverted - that is, who is the shyest and most withdrawn?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

21. Which students would you think of first if you heard that some of this group was in trouble with the police, but you had not been informed of their identity?

MALES: _____ _____ _____

FEMALES: _____ _____ _____

APPENDIX H

SAMPLING ERRORS OF PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES

APPENDIX H

SAMPLING ERRORS OF PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES

The tables to follow present the sampling errors for the differences between two percentages. They may be used to provide an estimate of the significance of the difference between the percentages of any pair of subgroups. The figures in the cells of the tables represent the amount of difference between two percentages which can be expected to occur by chance one-time-in-twenty. Given such a difference, it can be interpreted as a real (true) difference with a probability of being wrong five per cent of the time.

Because the sampling error of percentages varies with the size of the sample and the size of the percentage, several tables are presented. The user must first select that table which approximates the magnitude of the percentages from which the difference was obtained. Then find the column and row within that table which best represent the size of the two subgroups on which the percentages are based. Let us consider an example from the data presented in Chapter IV. It was reported that 53% of the bright working-class white boys were in a college prep course compared with 31% of the low IQ working-class white boys (Table 39). Is this a significant difference? With one percentage around fifty and the second around thirty, one would compromise and select the table for percentages around 40% and 60%. The size of the two subgroups are 134 and 75. When we examine the figures in the table where columns 60 and 80 intersect with rows 120 and 140 we find that a difference of 14 to 15 per cent is a significant difference at the 5% level of confidence. The difference between the percentages in our problem is 22 (53 minus 31) which exceeds the minimum difference for the 5% confidence level. We would conclude, then, that a significantly greater portion of the bright than low IQ working-class white boys are in a college prep program.

Sampling Errors of Differences[a]

For Percentages around 50%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	32									
40	28	22								
60	26	20	18							
80	25	19	17	16						
100	25	18	16	15	14					
120	24	18	16	14	13	13				
140	24	18	15	14	13	12	12			
160	24	18	15	14	13	12	11	11		
180	24	17	15	13	13	12	11	11	10	
200	23	17	15	13	12	11	11	10	10	10

For Percentages around 40% and 60%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	31									
40	27	22								
60	25	20	18							
80	24	19	17	15						
100	24	18	16	15	14					
120	24	17	15	14	13	13				
140	23	17	15	14	13	12	12			
160	23	17	15	13	12	12	11	11		
180	23	17	14	13	12	11	11	11	10	
200	23	17	14	13	12	11	11	10	10	10

For Percentages around 30% and 70%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	29									
40	25	20								
60	24	19	17							
80	23	18	16	14						
100	22	17	15	14	13					
120	22	16	14	13	12	12				
140	22	16	14	13	12	11	11			
160	22	16	14	12	12	11	11	10		
180	22	16	14	12	12	11	10	10	10	
200	21	16	13	12	11	10	10	10	9	9

---

[a] Column and row headings refer to size of the subsample. Figures in the cells of the tables represent the difference between two percentages which can be expected to occur by chance one time in twenty.

For Percentages around 20% and 80%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	26									
40	22	18								
60	21	16	14							
80	20	15	14	13						
100	20	15	13	12	11					
120	19	14	13	11	11	10				
140	19	14	12	11	10	10	10			
160	19	14	12	11	10	10	9	9		
180	19	14	12	11	10	9	9	9	8	
200	19	14	12	10	10	9	9	8	8	8

For Percentages around 10% and 90%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	--									
40	17	13								
60	16	12	11							
80	15	12	10	9						
100	15	11	10	9	8					
120	14	11	9	9	8	8				
140	14	11	9	8	8	7	7			
160	14	11	9	8	8	7	7	7		
180	14	10	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	
200	14	10	9	8	7	7	7	6	6	6

For Percentages around 5% and 95%

	20	40	60	80	100	120	140	160	180	200
20	--									
40	--	--								
60	--	--	8							
80	--	8	7	7						
100	--	8	7	7	6					
120	--	8	7	6	6	6				
140	--	8	7	6	6	5	5			
160	--	8	7	6	6	5	5	5		
180	--	8	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	
200	--	8	6	6	5	5	5	5	4	4